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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 20, 1993 \$2.50

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## CONTENTS

### 2 EDITORIAL

### 4 LETTERS

### 8 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

### 11 COLUMN: BARBARA AMIEL

### 12 CANADA

With love on the increase and voting day just around the corner, some of the federal political parties want to appear soft on crime, a married woman's sister issues an emotional appeal for the rights of victims and their families.

### 16 COVER

### 27 PEOPLE

### 28 WORLD

South African multiparty negotiations approve a watershed agreement clearing away one of the final obstacles to ending more than 300 years of white-minority rule. Russian corruption charges raised as far as Canada. Canadian members of a controversial Argentine cult face allegations of child sexual abuse.

### 29 BUSINESS WATCH: PETER C. NEWMAN

### 36 BUSINESS

Casual on financial markets are basking for volatility during the federal election campaign; labor leader Bob White struggles to promote union solidarity in a performance economy.

### 42 SPORTS

### 46 FILMS

Martin Scorsese makes his first historical drama.

### 49 MUSIC

Canadian folk-rock divas, Anne Murray sings the bane of her youth.

### 50 LIFESTYLES

Replay's Release It or Not! celebrates the 20th anniversary of its founder's birth at a time when the world has discovered new ways to fend its fascination with the weird, warped and wonderful.

### 52 FORTHBRINGHAM

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 22 1993 VOL. 106 NO. 38



## Who will save your job?

**16** The 1993 federal election campaign has just begun, but already the two major contenders have squared off on one of the central issues: the fate of the country's 1.6 million unemployed. Prime Minister Kim Campbell is telling Canadians, in essence, to tough it out. Her chief rival, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien, has chosen a more traditional approach, promising to spend taxpayers' money to put the jobless back to work.

## Recognition, at last

**28** After decades of bitter enmity—and without denial of each other's legitimacy—arch-enemies Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization agreed to formally recognize one another. The historic development, worked out during months of secret meetings in Oslo and in a final flurry of bargaining in Paris, is the biggest breakthrough in Middle East diplomacy since Israel's 1979 peace treaty with Egypt.



## The young lion roars

**42** Fresh-faced and bespectacled, Paul Tracy looks like he spends a lot of time at the library. But when he is folded into the coxswain's cockpit of his red and white car, the 24-year-old Canadian racer drives as fast as—and often faster than—anyone in the business. In his first full season on the Indy circuit, Tracy went into the final three miles of the season with an outside chance to win the 1993 driver's title.

# Taking A Stand

So far, it has been a very successful election. Defying the tradition of elaborate pre-electoral secrecy, for weeks the Prime Minister's residence, and then Kim Campbell herself, openly hosted as an Oct 30 vote. Then, in the first days of the campaign last week, Campbell and her chief opponent, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien, carried out sharply different stunts on the hot-button issue of the campaign—jobs. Ruthy has a campaign been so animated by a clear choice in early October when Campbell said that she would "take to the streets" by the time of the election, a country where unemployment is way down. Chrétien responded "For us, the priority is to create jobs in 1993, right now." Last year one candidate said the two parties were ideological, Campbell's letter went up to make clear that reducing the deficit by checking spending was her top priority and Chrétien announced a public works plan that would cost taxpayers \$6 billion. Finally, there were two contrasting visions of how to create work by saving or by spending.

Who do we trust—that is the question of the campaign. Trust is on Chrétien's side: voters have generally responded favorably to election promises and politicians offering hope. On the unemployment issue, there is a desperation in the face of more people (41 per cent) in a labour force that has lost jobs than losing their jobs or, in the case of 1.5 million Canadians, despite of that

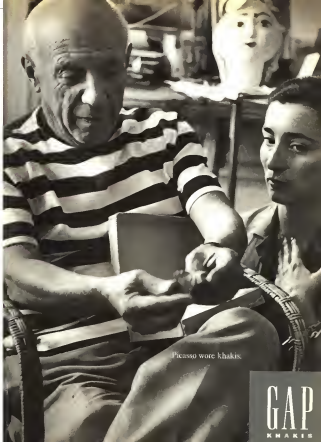
ing one. Stimulating spending to create work may not be seen as a vice but Campbell is betting that the times are changing. First, most Canadians simply do not believe that any of the parties have real answers to unemployment or other major problems of the day, the crisis. They are tired of empty promises. She is betting that people will respect her restraint with public funds and her unwillingness to promise solutions to intractable problems. If nothing else, in an era when politicians are much maligned, Campbell and Chrétien should be given credit for having the courage to state their convictions.

Another group that showed fortitude was a panel of 12 Canadians, assembled by Maclean's and the CTV network to suggest ways to reduce the federal deficit of \$22.6 billion. During a weekend retreat in August, the participants, drawn from varied walks of life and all regions of the country, tackled the thorny issues of health care, unemployment insurance, the deficit and federal spending. The results of the forum, "Tough Choices," will be presented at the next issue of Maclean's (no sale starting on Sept. 20) and during a one-hour CTV/Maclean's special on Sept. 27. In the end, the participants cut almost \$30 billion in spending over a hypothetical five-year period. As a snapshot of how 12 ordinary Canadians would tackle the deficit, the forum's results may be revealing, demanding, and, at times, contentious. Just like the real thing.

*Robert Lewis*



Campbell and Chrétien: the hot-button issue



Picasso wore khakis.

GAP  
KHAKIS

## Maclean's

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# LETTERS

## Mission impossible

I am disgusted with Diane Francis's column "A mission statement to revive Canada" (Aug. 30). To suggest that Anglo-Saxon culture has a stronghold on "hard work and engineering" is not only an oversimplified opinion of Bill Gates, but is another example of the headbowl racism that I find creeping into business columns as the values of globalization become more entrenched. The other point is her contention that Canada will only succeed "if we reward our entrepreneurs." Give me a break. You are talking about a group that writes off millions of dollars in entertainment every year, that pays less corporate taxes than it would in most other OECD countries, that has thrown a million plus workers on the sidelines, thus contributing to an even greater crisis on the social aid, and that, while becoming the debt, continues to live a lifestyle that most Canadians cannot even dream. For some of us, our mission is to rid Canada of that creature.

Bob Leitch,  
Delta, B.C.

With characteristic hyperbole, Diane Francis blames our "ridiculously expensive welfare state" for the failure of the standard of living in Canada. She's wrong, of course. According to OECD data, Canada spends far less relative to its GDP on unemployment insurance and personal payments than do several European nations. She compares us to the United States, where millions have no health care, no public schools and no social safety net, and ignores the European countries, which are both healthier and prosperous. Our falling standard of living is a direct product of disastrous Tory policies.

Glorie Stene Johnson,  
Vancouver

You ought to be ashamed for publishing the column by Diane Francis in which she calls Mexico an "industrialized country." Mexico enlightened?

Andrea Giguere,  
Virdom, Que.

Thank heaven Melrose's periodically exclusive columns by Diane Francis and Barbara Aron. These two ladies write clearly and succinctly, cutting through layers of left wing dogma and socialist pap with very sharp pens. You had more of their raité out-temperaments here in the same magazine.

Richard H. Eldridge,  
Victoria



Microsoft CEO Gates: Anglo-Saxons have a 'stronghold on hard work'

## 'In times of war'

How dare Mr. Gen. Louis McDougall tell his troops ("Survivor's story," Special Report, Sept. 6) in times of war, that strategy is not there. One must choose a side, the side of the "victims," and stifle the "victims" on the other. The United Nations and the media have made this quite clear. Unfortunately, then, it became imperative to remove this co-operative general.

In Belit,  
Manawatu, Ont.

## Clothes-pegged

I was pleased to find the coverage of Tina McGowan's role as the beleaguered CIBC chief, describing her as 5'2 and 100 lbs, wearing white socks and multicolored tights ("Prime time wars," Cover, Aug. 30). What disappoints is the lack of mention of the physical attributes and fashion sense of the rest of the CIBC players. Is Patrick Watson poorly or well? Did he wear a sweater or a suit? What about Ivan Feser—nowhere was his knee holster even mentioned. And no mention of Gerard Vellieux's swell eyeglasses or Peter Marchand's horrendously sexy girth. Please, in future, when you pick up such interesting threads make sure you don't just inexplicably drop them. I'm on pins and needles—I have to know—the mention of Peter Herndorf's flaking stubble off his trousers—what kind of trousers?

Diane Macle,  
Calgary

I had high hopes that your story might raise to a better place the interminable debate about the viability of the CIBC. Since when is it responsible for a story that claims to have the inside dope to hang its nature theme on a clutch of anonymous interviews? Your readers deserve more than what amounts to a guess column. There is a lot happening at the CIBC these days. President Gerard Vellieux's repositioning strategy may not have been perfect in every detail—but only because—but it gave the CIBC a good head start in creating a wide range of Canadian content of superior quality. And finally what will save this institution—its ability to produce Canadian programming for Canadians and for export. We're long accustomed to new challenges and, far from being perturbed by them, the people I'm in daily contact with are excited and optimistic about our prospects for four along in the 20th-century universe.

Tim Kozloff  
Vice-President, News  
Content Affairs and Newsweek  
CIBC, Toronto

## Working women

What struck me about Susan Thelen, the new president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, was the absence of a prolonged working background ("A break with custom," Canada, Aug. 29). I cannot help but think that the NAC would be better served by someone with years of life's real-life experience, regardless of color, race or other politically correct qualities.

Martin C. Poir,  
Carleton, Ont.

Letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please include your address and daytime telephone. Write Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, 757 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A7. Or fax (416) 593-7728.

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# OPENING NOTES

## AN 'A' FOR AUDACITY

**P**hilipinos may be granting a new era of open government, but cynical voters have two more reasons not to believe them. Last week, only a few days into the federal election campaign, two candidates were already forced to resign after disconcerting news was disclosed on their resumes. In Montreal, Bob Québec, former Québec Liberal Boardhead, resigned; James Laroche, an independent, was the only candidate in the riding of Babeland on Lac-Saint-Jean, north of Québec City, Laroche, who attended Laval University and in one course alone from receiving a degree, had claimed to hold a bachelor's degree in arts in political sciences.



Missing resume



Resumé: resumé

That kind of fuzzy memory clearly causes language barriers. Preston Manning's Belongs Party of Canada also looked one up: candidates in the riding of Hamilton-Wentworth after it became known that Don Reid Kennedy had not attended Mohawk College, as he had claimed during the nomination process last spring. Kennedy subsequently did take a course at the college. In fact, the Mahawk program that Kennedy referred to on his cv was a high-school Ichthyology course that he took 25 years ago. When questioned by a reporter from the *Hamilton Spectator*, Kennedy said that the passage of time had confused his thinking. "I might forget."

## WORD FOR WORD

### I am visible, hear me roar

Ontario's Employment Equity Act, designed to promote fair treatment of women people with disabilities and racial minorities in the workplace, is a law in the process but has not yet been implemented. But among the members of a multiparty caucus representing the legislation, there seems some confusion about just what it is. *Excerpted from the page 15 interview.*

**Tina Murphy (Liberal MP for QC):** You can imagine an act on a definition... Actual minority is defined essentially in two ways, a visible minority and then a self-identified visible minority... So that if I am a non-visible racial minority, this doesn't count... **Narain Ahluwalia (Liberal minister of citizenship):** The basis of the act is on self-identification within the definitions given, so the expectation is that the definitions would be provided in the survey material, education would be provided



Software job in Toronto "self-identity"

ed to employers about the definitions, and then it is up to the individual to mark down definitions and self-identify on the basis of those definitions. Murphy: It seems to me to be a two-part: they both have to be a visible minority and identify themselves as a visible minority. Ahluwalia: The basis is self-identification and the basis is within the definition given. The definitions are a racial minority to someone who is a visible minority. Therefore, that definition would be used by individuals to make their own determination as to whether they are a racial minority within that definition or not.

## Unique, special and overlooked

After being upstaged by Prime Minister Kim Campbell for not interfering, Canada at the June 28 missile strike on Baghdad, President Bill Clinton apologized and called the Canada-U.S. relationship "unique in all the world." But at a closed-door briefing to U.S. senators in Tampa, Florida this month, Canada once again was in the background. Speaking to a select group of American senators, the assistant secretary of state referred to the country's "most important bilateral relationship"—with Japan, which visited a few weeks later. And when Western European countries, Canada, America's largest trading partner, was not mentioned at all. When Ahluwalia's learned of the omission, state department officials had to do some Chinese-sounding damage control. "It simply didn't come up," said one. "But Canada has a very special place in U.S. foreign policy. We have no closer ally, no better friend." No kidding, eh?

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *The Golem Rises*, Neil Gaiman (2)
2. *The Daylight Marriage*, Rachel Heller (3)
3. *Witness*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
4. *Griffin & Sabine*, Neil Gaiman (3)
5. *Michael Light*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
6. *Like Water for Chocolate*, Laura Goodman (2)
7. *The Night Manager*, John le Carré (2)
8. *Proletariat*, John le Carré (2)
9. *Diary of a Young Man*, Louis L'Amour (2)
10. *The Client*, John Grisham (2)

( ) Previews last page  
Compiled by Bruce Buchanan

### NONFICTION

1. *Against the Day*, William S. Burroughs (2)
2. *Proletariat*, John le Carré (2)
3. *Witness*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
4. *Griffin & Sabine*, Neil Gaiman (3)
5. *Michael Light*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
6. *Like Water for Chocolate*, Laura Goodman (2)
7. *The Night Manager*, John le Carré (2)
8. *Proletariat*, John le Carré (2)
9. *Diary of a Young Man*, Louis L'Amour (2)
10. *The Client*, John Grisham (2)

## PRUNING AT THE GLENBOW

I was the largest cultural gift ever made to a Canadian institution. In 1986, Calgary of influence Sir John Galt donated over his personal—400,000—collection to the Glenbow Museum. Now, the provincial government is chopping grants to the museum by one-third. And in response, museum staff have begun a massive cull of Glenbow's treasure house. The goal is to sell off "discretionary" in the trade catalog \$50 million worth of the museum's 12 million objects—but only those that do not fit the central mandate, preserving a record of the human history of the West.



James (left), collections management director Patricia Ainslie, "insidious"

get first this before public auctions next year. "Discretionary is a sensitive topic," acknowledges museum director Robert James. "People like we are selling the farm. But it is the pruning—your grow and prune. There is no public. History for sale?"

Timothy's Northwest. Among these items for sale are 18th-century books by British artist Archibald Thorburn, sculptures by U.S. artist Marina Abramovic, tape from the American Southwest, American leatherwork, Australian bark paintings and European tapestries. But private collectors will have to wait their turn: 32 Canadian museums and art galleries will

## The Belarussian bull



When Stanislav Tymoshuk, an opponent to businessmen from Toronto, ran in Poland's presidential election in 1990, he was known to Lech Wałęsa, the Polish prime minister. He was the "man from Kiev." Now another Polish-Canadian is seeking the presidency of a former Soviet republic, Belarus. And Alexander Pruski, former publisher of the Toronto-based newspaper *The Polish Express*, is determined to win. Last week, Pruski, who was born in 1954 in the town of Belarus, then part of Poland, left Canada—where he has lived since 1985—with his handcuffed wife and five-year-old daughter. There, he says, he will be one of the major candidates for the Belarussian presidency when, as expected, parliament calls an election later this year. Campaigning on a platform of protection and the elimination of inefficiency, Pruski is a

confident that he will become the first Canadian citizen to lead a former communist Eastern European state. "I can use my Tymoshuk experience to my benefit," he said. "I am on a good position to help the Belarussian people create democracy and wellbeing." Still, even a second reason why Pruski's Ontario has had to leave the country of 10 million will succeed: "The province of a democracy from Moscow who said that a new leader will emerge—only to be killed and then the next of the leaders of the best—20 years, I am a Timoshuk, so in 20 years, I have a chance."

Pruski's "democracy"

## PASSAGES

**INTERIED:** Former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos, who died in September, 1989 at age 72, had a cardiac arrest, in a home care, where it will be on public display, in a state association in his hometown of Davao, 400 km north of Manila. Marcos and his wife Imelda fled the Philippines in 1986 for exile in Hawaii after a popular revolution ousted 21 years of the family's authoritarian rule, marked by charges of corruption and oppression. Ever since his death, Imelda Marcos, 65, has campaigned to have her husband's presidential election and still faces more than 100 criminal and civil charges in the Philippines and the United States as a result of the Marcos family empire.



**SHIMMERED:** Lifelong criminal and over-the-hill author Roger Caron, 55, in 20 months is just after pleading guilty to homicide, taking and assault while trying to escape from the Huddell Psychiatric Hospital, by a Brockville Ontario Court provincial prison judge. Caron, now serving an eight-year sentence for a series of Ontario robberies, is best known for the best-selling *God's Mountain*, his book of robberies and 20 years in prison, which was the 1978 Governor General's Award for non-fiction.

**THEY** had singer Helen O'Connell, 72, of course, in a film. In 1944, she was with Allied troops during the Second World War, the song with the orchestra of *Let's Dance*, Woody Herman, Glenn Miller and Jimmy Dorsey.

**SENTECED:** The former chief judge of New York state's highest court, Sir William, 65, in 10 months is in prison for threatening to kidnap the 16-year-old daughter of his former lover, a wealthy socialite, by a federal district judge in Trenton, N.J. Whether, or not he would do the charges were laid, had been widely considered a potential Republican candidate for governor.

**DECEASED:** A criminal pending charge against director Ross Nagel, 55, a former boyfriend of so-called Hollywood Madam *Blondie* Feltus, 38, who faces charges of murder in a neighborhood called Orangeburg in the name capital's rich and famous by Los Angeles prosecution.

## POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box office receipts during the seven days that ended on Sept. 9. (In brackets number of screens/theatres showing.)

1. <i>The Fugitive</i> (14/19)	\$1,047,000	6. <i>The Firm</i> (15/19)	\$251,000
2. <i>Like Water for Chocolate</i> (14/19)	\$234,400	7. <i>True Story</i> (17/19)	\$241,000
3. <i>Against the Day</i> (14/19)	\$149,900	8. <i>Witness</i> (14/19)	\$241,000
4. <i>Heart Throb</i> (14/19)	\$147,100	9. <i>Delirium</i> (14/19)	\$147,000
5. <i>North Thing</i> (13/19)	\$131,700	10. <i>The Secret Garden</i> (14/19)	\$131,000

COMPILATION ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY

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## COLUMN



# How being broke fuelled the peace

BY BARBARA AMIEL

**Y**asser Arafat was never a conspiracy-conscious commander-in-chief, performing a simple black-and-white checkered flag act accompanied by a hapless Kibbutzim. Still, the PLO must have been the richest, revolutionary movement in history. How many other revolutionary movements have been financed by oil sheiks and the former Soviet Union—petrodollars and the people's rubles, flowing like ink to Tunis? Who would have believed that by 1993 the party would be over?

After the fall of communism, Arafat seemed unable to grasp the new realities. He blithely continued the decades-old record of Palestinian leaders shooting themselves in the foot. Just as the Arabs had chosen Hitler over the Allies in the Second World War, rejected the Peel plan in 1937 that would have given the Palestinians a state, rejected the UN partition of Palestine in 1947 that led to the creation of Israel, rejected both Israel's offers in the wars of 1947 and 1948, so it was that Arafat, chase to ban Saddam Hussein's false lie in the 1990 Gulf War. Can one help but feel sympathy for the Palestinians when he narrowly lost?

Disappointed, Arafat disappointed. Most Palestinians left their homes and fled when the Israeli state came into being in 1948. Never could that the Palestinians have created a thousand and one myths to explain their lot and deny their own culpability. Their lot is still attached in the century of self-determination, they still have religious (and who the Israeli flag over their head). Then, with that wonderful grape seedling between Hussein and Arafat, even the Gulf States could take it no more. The petrodollars dried up and Arafat was broke.

Nothing consecrates the mind quite so wonderfully as being broke. What happens is called survival, and it is that which has driven Arafat towards peace. Watching these events unfold is a daily manifestation of Trotsky's theory of underdevelopment.

who could have known that the Gulf War would create the scenario for the martyrdom of two deeply opposing people, Arafat and Hussein, whose enmity would change the course of events in the Middle East?

The current peace initiative is fraught with problems. On the Israeli side, the objective to the peace plan will at least be restored by democratic tradition. For Arafat's part, with PLO leaders repatriated by the West and the Gulf States, he could overtake the advance of the military. Hussein grows, whose Iranian-financed activities have filled the vacuum among the Palestinian elite by the PLO's poverty.

Israeli objections are based on an understated, subtle security issue. For over 45 years, the Palestinians have vowed to eliminate the state of Israel. Until very recently, Arafat explained that the strategy would be to establish a Palestinian state and to Israel and then wage the "mother of all battles" to drive out the Jews. As well, the years of moral assistance, the world has shown Israel are now taking their toll. The real impetus of the world with the security problems of Israel as the one hand and its sympathetic reception to the pro-Israeli revolutionaries sworn to de-

stroy it on the other, does not create confidence that the world would be sympathetic should Arafat break promises of peaceful co-existence.

Those of us who want peace here ought to hope that if this agreement is implemented, Arafat will spend his time worrying about his own survival and that someone, as he copes with the problems of developing political and economic progress in his embryonic state, he will largely shut his own eye to eradicate Israel. Rather this year, when I spent time with PLO representative Hana Adwan, she made her contempt for the notion of permanent autonomy quite clear to me. Now, she allows the party line and takes to act a good vote in the agreement, but it is clear to me that her heart is not in it. Helge Abbot Shul, the leader of the Palestinian delegation at the Madrid peace talks and probably the most respected public figure among the Palestinians, struck me as a man of great charm and civility. Still, when we talked his position was unambiguous: "All or nothing," was his response to the notion of limited autonomy. Then came the ingrained hatred: "The Jews are exploiters," he said, "and nothing will stop them but war."

*A region governed by the PLO will not be constrained by the same moral niceties Israel faced in occupying it*

On the plus side for Israel is the reality that a region governed by the PLO will be constrained by the same sort of moral niceties Israel faced in occupying it. Arafat will deal with Muslim fundamentalists who reject the peace agreement in the bloodiest way necessary. He will not worry about Amnesty International which, in turn, is unlikely to worry too much about him. As well, the Israeli army will not wait overnight. And there are many ways to pressure the new autonomous state, which will be greatly dependent upon Israel for its survival. As for the borders, will the Palestinian have to resolve first losing a new set of circumstances. The Arabs cannot get back the identical borders they once had and refuse Israel to a state whose wasteland is only 15 kilometers wide with a capital city, Jerusalem, half of which is inaccessible to Israelis.

Ultimately, Israel has few choices. There are 37 million Arabs surrounding them, not counting nearly 15 million in Iraq. Jews like myself in the diaspora and Israel may complain that the world does not judge Israel fairly, but Israel, which is in the world, has no choice, not a world. She has no ally, her existence turned the Arab side pro-Soviet allies, which only Western taxpayers a burden. Given this reality, Israel has received more aid, investment and energy than she can ever be practically worth.

Israelis have always wanted peace. What they are doing is get away with peace and may not end to peace. There is a question, however, of whether they have decided to go for it. Most of us, Jews and Israelis, would recognize Arafat and let bygones be bygones if he would earnestly make good and evolve it into a stable, nonaggressive, self-determining state. To both efforts and to the future, the Jewish state seems singularly appropriate. Arafat—is it.

# FIGHTING BACK

CANADIANS ARE FED UP WITH CRIME—AND WITH THE CODDLING OF CRIMINALS

The assault and rape, if the allegations are true, was a matter of experience over instances. The second girl was a 16-year-old who with a history of sexual attacks on friends, sat on probation, who allegedly stalked his victim through a library. One park one afternoon last month. The prey was a 13-year-old boy out riding his bike. The boy told police that he was dragged off the bike's (to some barbers, barbers) with death and then taken to a nearby alley where he was forced into various sexual acts before being sodomized. It was, said Sgt. Chuck Bauman of the Richmond-Westmount police, who later arrested the suspect, "a particularly despicable crime."

Working jays. But in recent years, such crimes seem to have become much more common. Canadians do not need statistics to tell them that their lives are less safe now than they were a generation ago. They receive a steady dose of frightening news, of teenagers shown up for school every day, of parents or teachers concerned of including children entrusted to their care, of street gangs whose vicious activities often claim the lives of innocent victims. Everywhere, Canadians are seething with anger at what they view as a justice system gone awry, one which breeds criminals out of them and that releases violent offenders from jail too soon, allowing them to hurt and kill again. "They are getting away with murder," is the common refrain.

It is a cry that has not gone unnoticed by Canada's political class as the country embarks on a general election campaign. For as in the past, there critics at around the dinner table, Canadians are more inclined to complain about the rising crime rate than accuse constitutional purists or the doomsday rhetoric about the deficit. Suddenly, says Jim Kingston, a lobbyist for the Canadian Police Association (CPA) in Ottawa, "every political party seems to be listening to the public and talking tough on law and



For some martial-arts class, "we'll take it in our own hands"

order." For the first time, the CPA itself has endorsed a slate of candidates. For Conservative and seven Liberal, independent, "Shoo them," says Kingston, "many who have approached us and said, 'What about me?'"

No party wants to appear soft on crime. In the months leading up to the election, the Times passed laws to protect women from men who stalk them. They also amended the Young Offenders Act to make it possible to try youths charged with murder in adult court. The Liberals have countered with promises to tighten gun-control laws and the law governing police of high-risk criminals. And Reform party leader Preston Manning, who has served in cabinet, struck a "people's platform" of issues, with against what he sees as a too lax legal system. Speaking at Toronto last month, Manning suggested that parents should be held legally responsible for crimes committed by their children when "it can be demonstrated that a lack of parental control contributed to the actual offence."

Meanwhile, the pressure on Parliament for tougher laws continues to build. One of the best-known activists is Patricia de Villiers, whose 16-year-old daughter, Nani, was murdered in 1981 by Jonathan Yee while he was out on bail for other violent offences. Over the past year, the de Villiers family has gathered more than 1.5 million signatures on a petition calling for changes to the Criminal Code. But Canadians are clearly skeptical that politicians on their own can do the job.

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Politicians say that they are listening and acting. But it is a hardwired that they were among the last to board

talks about law and order because he no longer has the Constitution to help on, "the Liberal member from Thunder Bay last week as he stood beside a table laden with his pamphlets on the campus of Huron University's McMaster University." He's two years behind on the case.

But Keynes, a former television reporter who covers crime, "everything from police to the House and Parliament Hill," admits that he himself never thought much about crime issues until he was approached in 1989 by Jessie Smith and her husband Terry. Jessie's parents, Arnold and Donna Edwards, had been murdered in March, 1981, at their Hamilton-area home by her father's estranged boyfriend—who at the time was under a court order to stay away from the family. George Lowe was convicted of the killings and sentenced to concurrent 10-year sentences, but in 1986 to apply for parole after serving just 10 months. "We were naive then," says Keynes. "We were told that the sentencing was strict." But Terry Smith "And we were really naive about how the parole system works."

The couple talked to Keynes—"It just seemed natural to go to the people who make the law," Terry Smith explained last week—and began to develop a plan. The next step was a bill calling for an end to parole for first-degree murderers. Keynes promised the bill with the slogan "Life means life." Revealed Smith, "I was really very clear that the bill would never pass, but we wanted to get word out that the system makes a mockery of justice." The Times killed the bill last November.

But no politician in southwestern Ontario can be too tough on law and order these days. The region has been inundated over the last two years by a series of brutal and well-planned slayings of innocent women. Even a partial list of the victims in suburban 16-year-old Carrie Lynn Hurd, a model who was killed by a shotgun blast fired in the hallway at her Toronto apartment building during an altercation between two groups of youths. Marc de Villiers' daughter and daughter in Burlington and the murder of Louise Mahaly, a 16-year-old Burlington student, and Simon French, 16, of St. Catharines, as well as a series of rapes in the Toronto suburb of Scarborough. "What young girl in western Ontario would not be terrified after what we've been through here?" asked Jessie Smith.

Smith's solution is, by her own admission, idealistic. She has joined Canada's Against Violence Everywhere (CAVE) as its director. CAVE, a group founded by de Villiers after her daughter's murder, Smith wants strict parole provisions, but she argues that more education is also needed. "We have to teach children life skills that help them avoid resorting to violence and which promote healthy sexuality," she says. "I wish I had the courage to ask George Lowe's mother what kind of child

But it was a more hard-headed message

## CAMPBELL KINGS TO VICTORY

Vancouver Mayor Gordon Campbell, campaigning on a warlike conservative platform of reduced government spending, won an overwhelming mandate to lead the B.C. Liberal party. Lieutenant leader George Wilson and environment critic Judi Tyabji, whose love affair prompted a caucus revolt last March, unexpectedly quit the caucus. Wilson had finished third in province-wide telephone voting by party members.

## PEACEKEEPERS FACE MORE CHARGES

Military police charged two more Canadian peacekeepers in connection with the alleged torture and murder of a Somali civilian, Shafaa Awar, who died on March 8 while in Canadian military custody. Maj. Anthony Seward, the commanding officer of the Canadian Airborne Regiment's 2nd Commando in Somalia, was charged with unlawfully causing bodily harm and negligent performance of duty. Sgt. Peter Sweeney was charged with negligent performance of duty. Four other members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment have already been charged in Awar's death.

## CLEANING HOUSE

New South Liberal Premier John Sargeant, who led his party to victory in May with a promise to end political patronage, denounced the resignation of one deputy minister who had served the former Tory government. Sargeant, who said that the resignation failed to follow orders from the Liberals, denied that he had fired them to make way for Liberal opponents.

## ORDERING A NEW TRIAL

In a unanimous ruling, the Supreme Court of Canada ordered federal Montreal police officer Allan Gossett to be retried in connection with the 1987 death of black teenager Anthony Griffin, who was shot while fleeing custody.

## EXPLOITING CHILDREN

Calgary police say they have uncovered a child prostitution ring in which three girls—two 12 years old and two 13—were forced to have sex with a large number of men in private homes, restaurants and bars. Police also arrested two teenagers and issued a warrant for the arrest of one adult on two dates (pending-related charges). The ring allegedly involved a 16-year-old girl whose police say refused and eventually balked the younger girls into working as prostitutes.



that the omnipresent Keys had to deliver to about three dozen retired Hamilton Wrenworth police officers last week. Keys hoped quickly over his critique of Tory economic policies to get to his pitch that "we need to re-examine the lives of our land."

"I want you to know that I understand when you're boss," he told the gathering of former garrisoned officers, "and that I know there are flaws in the justice system." But some of the retired cops had bad memories. As far as they were concerned, it was successive Liberal governments in the 1960s and 1970s that tipped the scales of justice in favor of criminals. "What if you turn to government that did away with capital and corporal punishment?" yelled one man. Another loudly roared it was long ago in which a convicted Hamilton rapist was paroled with 12 lashes as well as a term in prison. "You tell me that doesn't work!" the ex-cop shouted. "Well, look, I know that guy wouldn't even spit on the sidewalk."

Another man interjected: "We'd never get changes as long as the lawyers are in charge. Politicians take the lawyers and set the lawyers" in the face of the onslaught. Keys could only manage a weak smile. "Well, I'm no lawyer," he said.

But the issue for the Straits is simple. "If everybody, including the prime minister, could have a psychic flash of the terror and mental anguish that survivors feel, they would see that the justice system is so poorly wrong that it must be changed," said an agitated Terry Smith. "It just seems reasonable that we need to do something to make sure George Love again. Our problem, in our family, should be over."

The tragic events of the last two years have cut a swath of fear through the communities along the western shoreline of Lake Ontario. The most common nightmares were those of Marabette and French, for which Fred Teale, a resident of the Port Dalrymple neighbourhood of St. Catharines, now wants to sue. Marabette, 30, is an unemployed waitress in a restaurant a series of rapes in the area. McCall, 30, a McMaster University student who grew up in Port Dalrymple, says that it



Keys with Hamilton cops: a region traumatized by brutal murders

Woods's 14-year-old sister was among the victims. "I used to get up early in the morning and walk down to the romag club alone," MacCall says. "I was so afraid. I still think it could have been me."

MacCall adds that she is now angry that a frightened by the dominating commitment in which women live. "I accept that I have to take precautions but it makes me mad," she says. Others are outraged by the fact that women and children—unless they are in a group. "Our kids never go to the park alone," and Brenda Macleod, who lives just a block from the Strathcona park where the 13-year-old girl was assaulted. "You learn to live with it. The world has changed."

Jim Flood refuses to accept that people must live in fear. A mother's terror, Flood runs a thriving self-defense business. Last week only two and a half years after he launched the exercise, he struck a deal to open his fifth branch. "I feel a bit guilty that we are successful because the world is less safe," said Flood. To another his concern: He began offering live lectures on how to protect themselves. "I might not have done it before I had kids," said Flood. "But now, I wonder how I'd feel if my daughter

was taken. That is my way of giving something back to a community that is scared."

"I was an overprotective mother," Frieside of Woods says as she sits and the clatter of Canada's new officers in Burlington's old town centre. "And Nina was careful. She carried a whistle, she knew how to use her legs. But in the end, no self-defense course, no pepper spray, nothing was going to stop a man like You who is in a rage and not on talking. At worst case," she says, her eyes welling with tears, "society has to protect us from people who are known to be a threat to others."

Accused with an articulate manner and a powerful message, the Villiers believes in working within the system to achieve reform—and that politicians can make Canada safer. She participated in a special panel, convened by the federal government last spring, to examine ways in which high-risk citizens can be protected from crime, making sense of the release. Educating people on how to avoid or de-escalate danger on their own at first, she says, but hands-on training are essential to curbing the violence. "Over the last 25 years the message from government has been that if you commit a crime, you're a victim's secret," says de Villiers. "But just as we have known predators that say 'Don't you ever drink and drive,' we must have predators' secret: drink and drive. We're sorry if society has brought you pain but don't you dare think that you can stand by that." Finally, she adds, "We've got to get the pain out of the schools and keep the predators and the repeat predators off the streets." At election time, it's a message that scales politicians as effective measures.

BRUCE WALLACE in Hamilton

## A sister's lament

*"It is a shame the dead can never be heard"*

In the early evening of Oct. 2, 1991, 47-year-old Caroline Case phoned one of her three daughters to say that she was on her way home from the job shop she owned in west-end Toronto. The next morning, her sister was found strangled in a ditch southwest of Toronto. An investigator arrived with blood and mud. Her children were discovered 13 months later, but no one has ever been charged with her murder and there are still no substantive answers to her disappearance. Caroline Case's sister, 30-year-old Rosemary Moore, recently sent the following letter to Marabette's with a plea to "tell the side of the silenced victim."

This summer, we were finally able to lay my sister's ashes to rest in the grave-park where our parents are buried—a quiet and beautiful place that is completely at odds with the horrific way she spent her last hours on this earth. With the passage of time, her memory runs more readily in the recesses of my mind. But the events of the past two years are indelibly written on my heart. What happened in the hours after Caroline's abduction, before she met her death early next day, has been a source of emotional and spiritual pain for her family and for her girls. I want again to be the girl to find some meaning in her death. Otherwise it will truly have been a most senseless waste.

I know that we are not the only family to have been victimized, and that with each passing hour people in every corner of the world are subjected to unspeakable violence and degradation. But unless somebody speaks out, nothing will change.

One hears a great deal about crime these days that strikes me that even the most notorious perpetrators are not the most heinous. The police are immediately given protection under the white umbrellas of the law. The authorities go to great lengths to make sure that they are represented fairly in court and treated properly while in jail. Often, the courts impose publication bans on ev-



Moore, Case (below): "What happened to our rights?"

deence—how that limit the ability of victims and their families to speak out. The legal and civil rights of accused criminals are carefully protected and guarded.

But what about my sister? Her right to life disappeared overnight. It is a shame that the dead can never be heard, the voiceless who are silenced.

Caroline was a good woman in every aspect of the world. She never intruded upon the rights of others. She never broke the law. She cherished life and her family and friends. She gave to the country and her community. Most of all, to me, she was my sister. I loved her and cherished her life as well as my own.

Life for our family has changed beyond recognition in the past two years. Without warning, there was no life, no freedom, no sister, no mother, no daughter, no shopkeeper—nothing. Until the discovery of her children a year and a month later, we did not even have a body to bury, nor the slightest trace of her disappearance.

And what happened to our rights? Our family and friends have been very patient—as have the Metro Toronto police, who are always kind and courteous—but not too long, judge or old rights activist has questioned about her health or well-being. No outside source has paid for the money they took and left across the country to help my sister's stricken family or to visit the remains of the funeral.

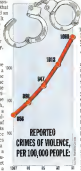
I wonder if I will ever really come to terms with Caroline's murder. Not long after her disappearance, I visited my daughter's apartment, the way way out, I lived in a house in the thought of walking alone across the deserted parking lot. I was so terrified that when I finally reached my car, I got down on my hands and knees to make sure nobody was hiding underneath. I still stay out of dark parking lots and stairwells, and I never walk alone, accompanied at night. If family members are not where I expect them to be, I immediately fear the worst—because I know the worst can happen.

And what about my mother? Before my sister's murder, she was, at 76, a woman with immense pride in her family. Afterward, she could not cope. She didn't eat or sleep and became sick and confused. In desperation, she mailed parchments and handwritten letters, begging to find clues in her daughter's disappearance. One gave her the false

hope that Caroline would return in February, 1992. But February came and went with no news. The next months were painful, empty, disappointed and broken-hearted. She didn't deserve that.

The police who are investigating Caroline's murder have a suspect who is now in and out of another prison after being found guilty of many dreadful crimes. But the investigation has dragged on, prolonging our own pain and uncertainty. So the changes have been laid. Does the legal system have a moral duty to see that justice prevail, not only for the sake of suspects but also for the sake of society?

I am not out for revenge, nor is I unforgiving. But I and my family want to live in a safer community. It seems me to see how highly some criminals are now treated, with reduced sentences and early paroling. It is time that our courts take more seriously the lives of our citizens who are more concerned with the crimes. It is time the National Police Board re-examine its procedures. It is time the "good guys" get same protection against the drugs and hoodlums. It is time to bring back the death penalty. It is time the victims find a voice. It



# 'WHY CAN'T ANYONE DO ANYTHING?'

**T**a crowd of the partisan crowd at a waterfront park in Hal-  
fax, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien's speech held all the  
components of a rousing campaign address. First came  
a lengthy attack on the Conservative government's refusal  
to spend money to create jobs. Then, an emotional  
lament over Prime Minister Kim Campbell's assertion  
that there is little relief in sight for most of Canada's 1.6  
million unemployed. And finally, a heartfelt promise  
that a Liberal government would deal with the problem quickly, and  
well. All of which aroused little reaction from someone who should,  
by rights, have been most interested. Karen Chignas, a 65-year-old un-  
employed sales clerk, happened upon the meeting by accident and  
remained, unmoved—no more ways than can. "Campbell is probably  
the most evasive of the new," said Chignas. "That Canadians don't  
want to hear they have no prospects. We've been hearing that for the  
past two years. Why can't anyone do anything?"

Why and what? Those questions already shape the election cam-  
paign and, more importantly, the lives of the 12.3 per cent of the  
workforce that is officially unemployed. Beyond that, 41 per cent of  
those who are employed worry about being laid off, according to a re-  
cent Gallup survey. Some, like employees of the troubled Canadian  
Airlines International, are desperately working to save their jobs by  
bridging the traditional gap between labor and management (page  
38). But many others have, never managed to enter the work force in  
the first place, and wonder if they ever will. Officially, 565,000 Canadians  
under age 35 are without work, but that figure excludes those  
who have never had full-time jobs.

As the 21st century draws near, the future looks frightening be-  
cause the present is so bleak. The Conservatives and Liberals—the  
only two parties with a realistic chance of forming the next govern-  
ment—offer, at best, uncertain comfort. The Tories, in essence, are  
telling Canadians to tough it out because a delinquent government  
has neither the money nor the tools to lend the country out of  
recession. In contrast, they will likely dig her throughout the cam-  
paign. Campbell last week—just minutes after rolling the decision—  
declined to say when she expects unemployment to dip below 10 per  
cent, declaring instead that she would "like to see, certainly by the



**"Any politician who thinks  
you can stimulate a  
\$700-billion economy  
with some sewer projects . . .  
will believe you can start a  
747 with a flashlight battery."**

—Preston Manning



**"I would like to see,  
certainly by the turn of the  
century, a country where  
unemployment is way down...."**

—Kim Campbell

turn of the century, a country where unemployment is way down and  
we're paying down our national debt."

Even the constant success stories offered up by the Tories, for in-  
surance were sometimes curiously anticipating. In the southern Ontario  
community of Lindsay, Campbell paid a visit to what her advisers de-  
scribed as a "model Canadian success story for the 1990s": an American-  
owned assembly plant that manufactures cranes and Sissy Patsy  
And in the nearby, once-prosperous city of Peterborough, which she also  
visited, the effects of the recession were everywhere. On downtown  
George Street, where Campbell delivered a speech at a local hotel, an  
empty as a quarter of the shops on some blocks were shuttered and empty.  
Unemployment in the area stands at about 14 per cent, and the  
largest traditional employer—a General Electric heavy-motor plant—when  
it is working by three-quarters, or 3,000 jobs, over the past decade.

In contrast, Chrétien tried to offer some hope. He unveiled details of  
a two-year, \$6-billion public works program that he claimed could cre-  
ate more than 300,000 jobs. But the federal government would only



**"For us, the priority is  
to create jobs in 1993,  
right now."**

—Jean Chrétien

fund one-third of that amount. In fact, so will Ottawa and its partners,  
provincial and municipal governments, might face the difficult choices  
of either plugging unacceptable debt levels, raising taxes or cutting  
other services to finance the program. And some Liberals privately  
agree with Campbell that "structural economic challenges"—a polite  
way of saying that many Canadians lack adequate training even should  
black-rocks jobs become available—mean that unemployment will al-  
most certainly remain high for much of the next decade.

That makes winning a particularly urgent priority. So far, Campbell  
has only spoken of that need in general terms, and made no specific  
commitments to introduce new programs. Her party is haunted by the  
legacy of a famously unhelpful promise that three Malcoms made before  
the 1989 free trade agreement took effect. Canadians, Malcoms  
pledged during the 1980s negotiations, would be given the "best labor  
adjustment programs the world has ever seen." The Liberals, for their  
part, were planning to announce last week a national apprenticeship  
program that would be aimed at creating entry-level positions in  
such fast-growing occupations as telecommunications, computer and  
environmental services. The program would be phased in over a three-  
year period and would cost Ottawa about \$600 million.

For Canadians living on the edge of unemployment, Liberal promises  
and promises have an obvious appeal. When Chrétien spoke at a union  
hall in Toronto at week's end, one of his most ardent listeners was  
Joseph de Oliveira, a construction worker who lost his job more than a  
year ago. De Oliveira was blunt about how he will wait—and why.  
"Christen is offering jobs, she [Campbell] isn't. It's that simple."

Oliveira is more suspicious. Many Canadians use their own doubts  
and emotions reflected in the widely reported exchange last week  
between Chrétien and John Tordella, another unemployed Toronto con-  
struction worker. Tordella, a 59-year-old self-described former "big-  
long Terry" who has been unemployed for 18 months, made an  
impassioned challenge to the Liberal leader to "be the politician that I  
can trust [because] I am getting laid off and very frustrated." Responded  
Chrétien: "There will not be a program [either in the campaign that I  
will not keep." Canada's 1.6 million unemployed will make certain  
to hold him and any politician making similar promises—to that vow.

ANTHONY NELSON SMITH and E. JAMES FULFORD in Halifax

# A NEW WAY OF SAVING JOBS



Active participants at a rally in Vancouver: a lot of late nights and hard pizza

between the two sides—and an infusion of cash for PWA—was still possible.

To accomplish that, Patrick had to win the opposition of PWA's own union leaders and convince the company's board that the employees' plan was viable—quickly. "My first reaction was, 'Who is this management folk and what does he want?'" recalls M's Farrell. "He was asking me to tell my members to give up wages to buy shares in a company that was going down the tubes." Farrell notes that he was especially skeptical at the proposal because employee investment insiders at United Airlines and Eastern Airlines had ended badly. But Hargrove, national leader of the Canadian Air to Workers Union (CAW), was so skeptical that he forbade his members—PWA's 3,500 activist and reservations agents—from participating at all. "The workers are being asked to take on a huge risk that no other leader would touch," Hargrove told Madison in August.

The union was not the only party to view the proposed deal with a jaundiced eye. According to several senior executives, PWA managers were initially reluctant to take the employee plan seriously. Over the previous year, they had unconsciously tried to erode the loyalty of employees by spurring a financial crisis, resulting in some mutual ill will. "The unions dug in their heels and accused management of crying wolf," says Kevin Howlett, PWA's vice-president of human resources.

Such mistrust was also rife among the ranks. Once the individual union leaders agreed to consider the plan—which entails graduated salary concessions from each group of workers over four years to save PWA \$200 million—they continued an even greater challenge: working together. On Aug. 16, the leaders of the PWA unions first met in Vancouver, they were defensive and guarded. Few of them had ever before, in the same room, been open with one another about pocket lists and real or veiled grievances. "There was a lot of mistrust and negative body language during the first few meetings," admits Farrell. "I took a lot of late nights and had pizza to build a bond."

By Aug. 24, however, the casual mistrust was gone. In place of PWA's board of directors, it included the employee contribution, a \$200-million cash infusion from AMR, and the pledge of prominent local executives from British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba. The board agreed to meet under the proposal, although some directors, including influential Calgary businessman Robert Southern, openly opposed the employee initiative and urged the merger with Air Canada. Since company officials acknowledge, some placed in the most sensitive positions of national neutrality,

outside to communicate directly with workers because of the conflict of interest requirements in cases of conflicting bids.

To sustain employee morale at a time of great uncertainty, the council set up a so-called hot line in Vancouver to oversee communication with the company's sprawling roster of employees across Canada. A "Where's Update" newsletter was set up daily to keep PWA staff informed about all council developments, and a national

line at the afternoon of Aug. 26. By 10 p.m. social clubs were 3,000 employees of PWA Corp. in a common airplane hangar in Vancouver. There, the normally reserved their man and chief executive officer of the embattled company, which owns Canadian Airlines International Ltd. of Calgary, visibly lauded their efforts to keep PWA afloat. "We wouldn't be here today but for your efforts," he said, adding, "I can't tell you how much strength you've given me over the past 18 months." PWA's employees have raised \$200 million through voluntary salary cuts in exchange for a 25-percent equity stake in the airline. These concessions have enabled Elyon to resume negotiating a financing deal with AMR Corp. of Fort Worth, the parent company of American Airlines. But even more impressive than Elyon's stirring words was his appearance. Rather than his usual stiff business attire, Elyon appeared before his staff dressed in a suit blue shirt without a tie. By contrast, the union leaders he introduced following his speech wore crisp white shirts and ties. Says Bill Farrell, who represents PWA's 6,000 members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers 8000: "To witness worker co-operation, there has to be a change in the approach—and style—of management."

While Elyon and the union leaders clearly attempted to depict the new corporate order at the troubled airline, their efforts to bridge the traditional gap between management and labor extended far beyond a festive statement. In an era of massive employee layoffs and spiraling labor business failures, a financial crisis has forced PWA managers and workers to focus on their common interests—resolving the company and preserving jobs. The acknowledgment of this mutual objective and, above all, the transformation of employees into significant stakeholders have profoundly altered the relationship between PWA's separate unions as well as that of labor and management. "There is a

lot of pressure involved in this process because there are no real stops," cautions Sidney Perlmutter, who heads the Vancouver-based Coast Air of Canada. Airlines Employees (CAE). "All we know is that we have to discard traditional corporate models and that we can never turn back to them again."

Such progressive, groundswelling are far from before PWA's survival depends upon them. Even if the company clears the final hurdle—a controversial withdrawal from the Gemini computerized flight reservation system—and completes an alliance with AMR, it danger still requires additional new capital. The international financial crisis, however, has been battered by the collapse of the company's share price and the search-for-fund financial restructuring of its operations. The introduction of employees as major shareholders is also a potential cause for concern outside PWA. It represents a potentially volatile new element at a time when PWA needs to present a stable, united front to attract new funds and confidence. In fact, in 1990 the three principal unions at United Airlines Ltd. failed to secure financing for a buy-out of the company precisely because outside investors were concerned about the fragility of their alliance.

The fragmented 50-year history of PWA made the challenge of forming solidarity especially challenging. The company has grown principally through mergers and acquisitions—five of them over 50 years. In 1989 PWA paid \$250 million for Westair Ltd., breathing its last with debt just as the global airline industry began its downward spiral. With each acquisition, there were layoffs, transfers and painful adjustments to a new corporate culture. Doug Makowicki, a flight attendant in Toronto, says, "It is a senior-oriented business, a tendency of service is critical. And it is a family constructed of multiple corporate mergers. It takes huge effort and expense to achieve that cohesiveness."

Despite PWA's patchwork pedigree, as employees across Canada

did have one strong bond: they all came from entrepreneurial operations where United-owned Air Canada of Montreal was the common bond. And after the most recent and painful addition to the family, Westair, the employees craved stability and job security. But on July 27, 1992, after initial negotiations with AMR broke off, cost-cutting PWA abruptly announced that it was proceeding with an Air Canada

take-over. Although the two major domestic carriers had discussed such a plan at the past, they had been unable to conclude a deal. The union, battered by recession-induced air traffic volatility and in industry-wide overcapacity, PWA had no choice. It was losing \$200,000 a day, and although the merger meant that no money on \$10,000 of PWA's 16,000 employees would lose their jobs, senior executives felt they had no other choice. "We were running out of bullets fast," says air president Ken Leslie. "I've got a small air line that has no way out except."

In fact, the employees related to accept it. Within hours of the announcement of merger talks with Air Canada, they swung into action and began to work on an alternative bid to rescue their company. Leading that campaign was Patrick, a former PWA vice-president who had recently taken early retirement. Patrick was well-versed with Donald Curry, a senior executive at AMR with whom he had worked at CP Air in the past. Curry assured him that if the employees could meet certain AMR terms on a balance

of labor and management together at Canadian Airlines

Labor and management together at Canadian Airlines

network of employee activists was formed to support the council's work with local rallies, political lobbying and publicity campaigns. Norma Hatchwood-Moore, a Toronto flight attendant who has worked on a variety of employee projects over the past year, says "I'm amazed at what we've been able to accomplish. I was never even active in my union, let alone banging down doors and confronting politicians."

Despite the aggressive efforts of the council and its backers, on Sept. 3 the PWA board rejected the employee offer when the government of Manitoba withdrew its loan guarantee at the last minute. Some board members also expressed concern about AMO's condition that PWA abandon the Gemini reservation system that it shared with Air Canada and other airlines, in favor of AMO's own Sabre reservation network. The employees—and even their outside advisers—were

The tortuous struggle to survive has had a direct impact on both the relations between employees and the relations between employees and managers. According to Rod MacTavish, an Ottawa-based airport agent, there has been a "steady blurring of the lines between union members and their job responsibilities—everyone pitches in now with everything." He also said that workers are now much more willing to promote cost-saving ideas and that there is "less institutional" in advancing these ideas to managers. In part, that is because PWA adopted a "total quality management" program in 1989 expressly to encourage workers to take initiatives that improve customer service. "It's not all peace and love in townland—differences will always exist," says Hawlett. "But ownership has certainly changed the dynamic all around."

Perhaps the most obvious sign of that is the presence at Fattedo on PWA's board of directors, representing the interests of the employees. A formal labor-management advisory team has also been formed to create a forum for quarterly dialogue—and financial disclosure—between employees and managers. The objective is to eliminate surprises for both sides and to defuse points of conflict before they erupt. Bruce Ferguson, who leads the union of simulator technologists at PWA, says that "as a traditional employee you draw conclusions with little information and that makes it easy to conclude that management are idiots. With more information, you get a different perspective." Adds Hawlett, "Labor and management are amenable to each other now and their long-term interests are no longer mutually exclusive."

Still, both sides concede that the ongoing struggle to survive and the bitter rivalry with Air Canada has made co-operation necessary and relatively easy. The test of their new co-operation model lies in sustaining it—whether the company's fortunes improve or not. PWA's acknowledges that "we've focused on crisis response and we haven't had time to fully consider what we've created here and where to take it." He and his colleagues on the council see their leadership role gradually narrowing to the management of the employee investment. "We do not aspire to be a shadow management team," he adds.

Despite some concerns among employees, Eytan and Jenkins are adamant that PWA management will not gradually revert to former, hierarchical patterns of behavior once the crisis abates. "The change has been built into our corporate culture," says Jenkins. "We can't turn back if we're going to succeed as a company."

In fact, Jenkins insists that the "lean" approach, which relies heavily on input from frontline employees, is the key for service-oriented industries in the 1990s. It allows the company to keep in touch with shifts in customers' habits and provides a flexible and rapid response to them. "It's a new game and we have the employees' muscle," he said. "That gives us a huge advantage over our competitors who are struggling to work things out." As the global airline industry struggles to return to profitability—and Air Canada continues its cutthroat rivalry with PWA—the embattled company will need every advantage, and every ounce of employee support, that it can muster.

DEBORAH MCINTYRE



Eytan greets worker at Vancouver: no road maps for the new partnership

shattered by the rejection, which effectively forced them to disband Eytan told MacTavish recently that turning down the employee bid was the chairman of PWA's board—"was the most difficult thing I've ever faced in my career." He noted "It helped to build the airline for 20 years and I know what the employees were feeling and exactly what they had gone through."

The council, however, continued to operate covertly. And when Air Canada's board of directors announced in Nov. 4 that the merger proposal was "unworkable" because of the \$1.5-billion combined debt of the airlines, the employees were ready for action. But by then, the delay caused by Air Canada's review of its rivals' financials left PWA with no way from collapsing. "If Air Canada's tactics weren't a deliberate ploy to weaken us, they were certainly irresponsible," Eytan says.

Despite the federal government's decision to allow the airline a \$20-million temporary loan guarantee on Nov. 24, PWA was forced to cease payment to most of its creditors on Nov. 28 in exchange for and to restructure on the \$750 million debt restructuring plan. Backed by loan guarantees for \$50 million from Alberta and \$20 million from British Columbia, AMO and PWA concluded the terms of a "strategic alliance" on Dec. 29. By early 1990, even the GWA members were allowed to participate in a company investment plan that will make them PWA's largest shareholders with a 25 per cent stake.



North Vancouver's Weaver: even the affluent ridings are up for grabs

## COVER/ELECTION FOCUS

# GRUMBLING FROM COAST TO COAST

The message from Canadians is clear: this election is about jobs

Nine years ago, Brian Mulroney swept to power on a promise of "jobs, jobs, jobs." The time appears to be just as perfect in this year's election, although voters in 1990 appear far more skeptical about the ability of politicians to deal with unemployment. Last week, Mulroney's correspondence sent knocking on doors in five key ridings across the country where his supporters are closely watched, interviewing nearly 200 people. They will return to the five ridings throughout the campaign. The first report.

### NORTH VANCOUVER

Stretching from the shorelands of Burrard Inlet to upscale neighborhoods nestled along the Coast Mountains, the riding of North Vancouver is a relatively stable and prosperous enclave in the fairly-busy of British Columbia's

The disillusionment of voters like Langmore is one reason that the riding of North Vancouver, where the Conservatives have held through the last four elections, is now considered up for grabs. Another is that the prime minister, Chuck Cook, died in February and the Times have only recently named his replacement, Will Marshall, a 38-year-old publisher of a newsletter as provincial politics who is waging his first federal campaign. He is a square of opinion Liberal Mahina Jaffer, a lawyer and high-profile women's activist, the NDP's Graeme Howie, a 25-year-old recent law school graduate, and William Ted White, who manages an office equipment leasing company.

Despite North Vancouver's relative affluence—the average household annual income is the riding is \$34,000, compared to the provincial average of \$45,900—voters expressed concern that future prosperity will be forced to accept a lower standard of living. Jay Weimer, a manager with British Columbia's previously owned auto insurance agency, complained about rising real estate prices and high taxes that make it impossible for many to contemplate purchasing a home. "I couldn't afford now to

buy the home we bought two years ago, in the community where I've lived all my life," she says. Similarly, 42-year-old Jean McKillop, a mother of three and grandmother of seven, cites unemployment as the country's most pressing problem, followed closely by what she calls the "unfair" burden of federal and provincial taxes taken, especially on younger consumers.

A large number of North Vancouver residents describe themselves as unfocused. "They choose, they sit, in made more cash called by the fact that they did more of cash





## COVER

*Not 'voting  
for the  
best—just  
the least  
worst'*

his political leaders particularly appealing: Peter Forslund, a 59-year-old retired territory worker, is typical. Although he voted Liberal in 1988, Forslund said that he is "not overly fond of Clinton" when he refers to it "political law here." He is impressed by Kim Campbell's forthrightness, but is troubled because "she's in the same party as Brian Mulroney." A longtime union supporter, he doubts that "the NDP have screwed things up so badly whenever they've been in power, I couldn't vote for them," concludes Forslund. "There is nobody out there for me."

### MACLEOD

The sunny laugh from a stack of lamb chops on Andrus and Sharon Thibodeau's backyard barbecue are unmissable appetizers along treckleland Arden Drive in Okotoks, a town of 2,500 that is 40 km south of Calgary. Only a few hours after last week's federal election call, the Thibodeaus were clear about what they see as the most pressing issue of the campaign. "It's the economy," says Sharon, a 45-year-old preschool teacher. "There is no money and no jobs." A mother of four children, two of whom are still in school, she fears for her children's future. "They will need jobs and there are very few around. I wonder whether there will be any work for them. A few down here, Alex Haskew, a 39-year-old welder, expresses similar concerns as the wife in her

### Welded in her Okotoks kitchen: 'Our nation is in a chaotic state'

kitchen, making jam from local chababernes. "Most of my family is still working, but some are wondering if they will have a job for long," she says. "Our nation is really in a chaotic state."

The Thibodeaus, who voted for the Conservatives in 1988, are now considering a switch to the Reform party. Haskew, who also voted Tory in the last federal election, is an ardent supporter of Preston Manning and his Calgary-based party. That may be had seven times before. Tory MP Kim Hughes, who in 1984 polled strongly in Okotoks, located near the northern boundary of Macleod riding, Hughes was the riding—a traditional Tory stronghold—with slightly more than 50 per cent of the 33,000 votes cast. In the same election, the fledgling Reform party captured an impressive 31 per cent of the vote, compared to nine per cent for the Liberals and eight per cent for the NDP. With former candidate Grant Hill, a popular Okotoks-based physician and surgeon, challenging Hughes, Macleod is again shaping up as an important two-way race. For the Tories, the riding is a clear test of whether they can retain their Alberta base in the face of a right-of-centre challenge. Reformers, meanwhile, know that Macleod is the kind of seat they must win if they hope to reach a credible number of MPs in Ontario.

The riding encompasses a diversity of terrain and interests, stretching south from Calgary's city limits almost to the Montana border, westward through much country to the Rocky Mountains and eastward into prairie grain farms. It also encompasses two Indian reserves and 42 separate towns and cities including Okotoks, a burgeoning bed room community of Calgary. Like many residents, Sandra Gosselin, a 32-year-old chiropractic nurse, commutes daily into Calgary. Gosselin, who also believes that the most issue in jobs, is unhappy with the Tory government's record but will likely vote to re-elect it. "I am hoping that Campbell will be different. So far, she is talking up a storm."

In addition to improving job creation, Gosselin wants Ottawa to begin paying down the \$47-billion national debt. But social programs like education, she says, should not be sacrificed. "Politicians have right of the future. I want my kids to have the same quality of health care and education that I had."

It is a popular sentiment, but in Okotoks most voters appear to have low expectations. "All of the parties seem to make promises," housewife Sandy Hutter says as she climbed on the mobility bars with her three-year-old daughter, Jesse, at a neighborhood playground. "That credibility is not a big thing with government. I am a bit of a pessimist about politics."

### BEACHES-WOODBINE

Like many of his neighbors, Peter Savage is finding it hard to decide how he will mark his ballot—even whether to bother going to his polling station in the east-end Toronto riding of Beaches-Woodbine. "I'm very disillusioned with the whole political system," says the 41-year-old Savage, who lost his job as a production supervisor 16 months ago after working for the same construction company for 30 years. "Politicians have done nothing but lie,

*'Politicians  
have done  
nothing but  
lie, steal  
and cheat'*

steal and cheat." Savage's disdain for politicians of all stripes, and Conservatives in particular, stems in large part from their handling of the economy. "It took the government two years to even acknowledge the recession was on," he laments. "And not nobody's job is secure."

Jobs, the economy and the perceived need to shake up the political system are readily shaping up as major issues for the 60,000 eligible voters in Beaches-Woodbine. The predominantly residential riding stretches from the northern reaches of the city, south to Lake Ontario, where a huge sewage treatment plant and Ontario Hydro's gas-fired Hearn generating station provide unwelcome reminders of the drawbacks of urban life. In the center of the ad-

dress last three elections, but has margin of victory has narrowed each time. Only 500 votes in 1984, with the Liberals and the Tories leading others for the runner-up position. As one of seven federal ridings in Ontario now held by the NDP, Beaches-Woodbine will be an important test of the party's strength in a province where Premier Bob Rae's NDP government calls an unpopular shadow.

In the closest, lastly-mentioned neighborhoods of Beaches-Woodbine, many residents are deeply concerned about community issues. Voters who spoke at McEwen's cited the environment and education as major issues as frequently as they mentioned taxes. Surprisingly, none of the 30 people questioned said that the performance of the job government would influence their decision. But most voters, including those with jobs, said that unemployment was the central issue of the campaign. "Job creation is almost," said Kim Lewis, 32, an elementary school teacher. "I can tell immediately when one of my students is going to lose a job. The children come to school hungry, they can't concentrate, they get left behind." Lewis added that she has "too often" had to vote "I'd rather crowd under a rock."

Indeed, disillusionment with the political process is widespread. Mike MacRae, who resented from his job three years ago and has been unable to find work since, and his wife, Lisa, who lost her job eight months ago, deliberately omitted their babies in protest in the 20th election. The two now intend to vote for the Reform party—but without apparent enthusiasm. "I hope all the shows" were on the ball," says Lisa. "It would win every time."

### VERCHERES

Situated on the south shore of St. Lawrence River, about 35 km east of Montreal, the federal riding of Vercheres has more than 90,000 eligible voters, most of them francophone and strongly nationalist. Vercheres encompasses two provincial ridings, both of them currently held by the Parti Québécois. The popular Tory incumbent, Marcel Lévesque, resigned in early September; the party has yet to nominate a replacement. The Liberals, who lost when the riding in 1986, have fielded a 30-year-old political comrade, Benoît Chiquette. The NDP has an traditionally not a factor in the riding. By all appearances, Vercheres should be eye-popping for Bloc Québécois candidate Stephen Bergeron. The Bloc is counting on first general election in Quebec with a promise to work to "win the province's autonomy from the rest of Canada."

But appearances can be deceiving. Although the area is typically a typical neighborhood in Beauharnois (population 30,000), one of three main towns in Vercheres, suggested that the Bloc enjoys a commanding lead among francophone voters. But an even-



NDP MP Neil Young in Toronto's York government center an anguished shadow

ing is the trendy neighborhood known as the Beach, where affluent professionals retreat each evening from their jobs in downtown office towers. But for one part, Beaches-Woodbine is comprised of working- and middle-class neighborhoods where giant white town cars pass for moving out and neighborhood which has lost another's rhythm.

It is also a key battleground for the federal New Democratic Party, which is now rated at about 20 per cent support in national opinion polls and would lose an election as a party in the House of Commons if it fails to win at least 32 seats. Former labor activist Neil Young has won the riding for the NDP in each of

greater percentage remain undecided. One possible explanation: while the Bloc flourished at the time of Quebec's sovereignty, only two of 30 eligible voters in the constitutional issues on their top priority. More frequently, voters regarded unemployment, health care and the federal deficit as the most important issue.

Over the past decade of urban growth, Beauportville has been transformed from a small rural community into a suburb of Montreal. The residents who flocked to Montreal's low-rise, middle-class neighborhood of single-family bungalows and well-manicured lawns. Of the 50 in the electoral census, 17 said that they intended to vote for the Bloc, compared to seven who supported the Liberals and only four who backed the Tories. Another 23 people said that they were undecided, while one man said that he would destroy his banner as a protest against his lack of choices. Most of the Bloc supporters were dissatisfied Tory voters. "The Conservatives are our ruling government ever and over again, that he was going to instill the local political climate," said Andre Gauthier, a permaculture worker who recently lost his job. "Nothing has changed and we're still out of work. I've had it."

Another former Tory who intends to vote for the Bloc is Callette Vaudouzet. "It seems that we are worse off than we were 30 years ago," says the mother of three grown children. "We've had it with the politicians in Ottawa taking us to death."

Many of the undecided voters in Verchères share that sense of frustration. But they are not yet convinced that the Bloc offers a worthwhile alternative. Another unemployed permaculture worker, who asked not to be named because, he said, he was embarrassed about not having made, said that he would not vote for the Bloc because "they are not in the position to run the country." He added "They're like a watchdog for Quebec, and that's good. But we need change, not a protest party."

#### SOUTH SHORELINE

With its tree-lined streets and freshly painted wooden houses, the riverside town of New Germany (300 km southwest of Halifax) exudes a quiet charm that belies the collapse of the local economy. Jobs in the factory are barely making over the mountains of the area are scarce and getting scarier. The managers of the nearby Michelsin Tractor (Canada) Ltd. plant announced last month that they plan to eliminate hundreds more jobs in the coming year. The factory is the only one of its kind in the world. "The question is whether any of the politicians can really do anything about it." For the candidates, answering that question will be one of the keys to victory in the South Shore riding, which encompasses New Germany (population 12,000) and dozens of other hamlets along Nova Scotia's southeast coast.

The largely rural constituency, which is

*'If none of the above' were on the ballot, it would win every time'*



New Germany's Carter: demanding concrete proposals, not promises

home to 80,000 capable voters, is one of the Bush points of the election in Atlantic Canada. When Isaac McCreath's Conservatives swept into power in 1984, Tory MP Lloyd Dixon took the South Shore seat by defeating Liberal incumbent, who had represented the riding since 1957, retired from politics before the 1988 election. Peter McCrath, a former teacher and broadcaster, barely held the seat for the Tories against a strong Liberal challenger. McCrath, appointed minister of tourism affairs in June, returns the current man with the Liberals and barbers of unemployment. The Liberals, who are competing in a virtual sweep of Atlantic Canada to help them form the next government, insist that their candidate, lawyer Donk Wells, can bring the Tory dynasty in South Shore to an end. Wells and the Liberals may benefit by what may see in a marked change in the nature of South Shore politics. "People no longer vote a certain way because their father and grandfather before them voted that way,"

says Valerie Drexler, 42, a mother of five who supported the Tories federally in 1988. Like more than half of the 30 New Germany residents interviewed by Maclean's last week, Drexler now doubts herself as undecided. How much of that uncertainty will translate into Liberal votes remains to be seen. Although support for the NDP and the Reform party in the riding is minimal, the Tories still appear to enjoy an edge—based in large part on a Campbell's personal appeal. "We need discount breakfast," says Bruce Hare, 46, co-owner of an eatery/coffee company, who intends to vote Tory. "Campbell can make de-

cisions that Christen and McLaughlin can't."

At this stage, however, most voters say that they want to see what the parties have to offer before making up their minds. Many express optimism to the possible introduction of nuclear power here, and further cuts to health care. Many also want to see a retrained Young Liberals Act in order to drive private criminals. The economy, however, is the top-of-the-mind issue for almost everyone. "I've studied in three trades, unemployed in all of them, and I just don't see things getting any better, do you? I don't know," says 36-year-old Del Trubick, who has spent the last 20 years in the New Germany area. In the end, the battle for South Shore will be won by the party that can offer Trubick and his neighbors a measure of hope for a better future—a message that should not be lost on politicians competing across the country.

JOHN WEAVER/REUTERS, A MONTREAL GAZETTE  
JOHN WEAVER/REUTERS, A MONTREAL GAZETTE  
BARBARA WICKHAM/REUTERS  
AND  
JOHN WEAVER/REUTERS, A MONTREAL GAZETTE

Clashed over business: many of the nation's survivors have a grim view of the future



#### COVER/ELECTION REPORT

## COMING UP FOR AIR

*Battling odds, St. Thomas struggles to rebuild*

Between now and Oct. 25, Canadians will be bombarded with messages from, and reports about, the national party leaders. But elections are not only about leaders, speeches and photo opportunities—they revolve through thousands of communities, small and large across the country. Throughout the campaign, Maclean's will lead you on one such community—the southwestern Ontario town of St. Thomas. Senior Writer Jeffrey Jacob reports.

The Sheraton Room at the Elgin Labour Centre in St. Thomas, Ont., is quiet and deserted, except for a few tables in front of the bar. Just five and a half dozen people have dropped in for a late afternoon beer to their way home for supper. The conversation is light-hearted and sprinkled with laughter as it turns to politics—and years of poverty, hunger, misery and sleepless nights to the surface. Visit him been worried about his future since last spring, when the factory where he had worked for 25 years closed its doors. At 53, with a Grade 10 education, he knows that he has little hope of finding an equivalent job. His companions, all employed, have their own list of complaints: high taxes, politicians' perks and the inability

of political leaders to solve the country's economic problems. "People are not very pleased with any of the parties," Yost said. "No matter who gets in, it doesn't make any difference."

Protestation and a sense of helplessness are widespread among the voters of St. Thomas, a city of 30,000 in southwestern Ontario that has been hammered by the recession. Robert Hamersley, president and chief executive officer of the St. Thomas and District Chamber of Commerce, says that nearly 8,000 of 14,000 permanent jobs within the city disappeared between late 1989 and the middle of this year. Caused largely by the closure of several U.S.-owned branch plants, the loss of jobs reverberated through the local economy. Retail stores closed, small businesses went under and scores of individuals were forced to declare bankruptcy. The city has begun to rebound recently, and has even attracted several new automotive-parts manufacturers. But unemployment still hovers around 13 per cent. Said Hamersley: "We got the hell kicked out of us, plans and people."

But some city residents wish long campaigns continued that the economic troubles of the

early 1990s may not be enough to disrupt voting patterns that have held for almost half a century. St. Thomas is the largest community in Upper/Norfolk, a long, narrow federal riding that stretches for almost 130 km along the north shore of Lake Erie. The rest of the riding is primarily a tobacco-growing region, while other rural areas are dominated by cattle and milk crops such as corn, wheat and soybeans. Voters in the riding have been sending Tories to Ottawa since 1945, with the exception of a seven-year spell beginning in 1980 when St. Thomas lawyer Harold Sutherland, a Liberal, represented the area. "It's like a family game," Sutherland said last week, adding the clutter of his down-

town office. "If you look at the population, I don't think it's changed much in 50 years."

Even so, some local Conservatives acknowledge that the past may prove to be an unreliable guide to the results of Oct. 25. The riding is held by Progressive Conservative Ken Mather, a 56-year-old cattle and grain farmer who ran federally in 1988 for the first time and prevailed over his nearest opponent, a Liberal, by a mere 1,719 votes. In this election the Reform party candidate, economist

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### COVER

and former jobs on the left and the Conservative Party's Robert DeLozier are both in the race to replace Jean Chrétien. The Conservative Party's Robert DeLozier are both in the race to replace Jean Chrétien. The Conservative Party's Robert DeLozier are both in the race to replace Jean Chrétien.

The decision that could send the Conservatives scurrying towards other candidates is already evident among the candidates on the Conservative Party's Robert DeLozier are both in the race to replace Jean Chrétien.

The impact of these economic problems is felt by workers young and old. Cagis Cagis worked for several years at a small St. Thomas plant that manufactured hydroelectric products such as piping coils. But the plant closed in July 1992—thanking 29 people, including Cagis, out of work.

Many blue-collar workers and small business owners in the over-populated, over-producing community also complain that they are working too hard for too little money. David Chisholm, owner of a combined gas bar and car wash on one of St. Thomas' main thoroughfares, said that he usually works a 12 or 14-hour day. On a busy day last week he sold 10,000 litres of gasoline—but cleared a mere \$40 because competition in favour of profit margins are now high. And back at the Sheridan Road, Jim Wolf's companions were complaining about taxes. "It seems like we give everything to the government, and they give you a little bit back to spend each week, and one man who had just finished his shift at an automotive plant. 'It's a crack,' with voices in St. Thomas angry at politicians, full of promises and nervous about their futures, the federal candidates say that themselves trading a very narrow path."

### PEOPLE

## STROKE, STROKE TO VICTORY

Rowers know that it can be costly to become too distracted by their competitors. But at last week's world rowing championships in Roudnice, Czech Republic, Canadian rowers kept a close eye on their



Porter, 'pumped up the race'

truncated efforts—and required one another to victory. Canada won four gold medals, two silver and one bronze. Derek Porter, 25, of Victoria, credited the win by Canada's eight-man team for giving him the kick he needed: he even took local favourite Václav Chalupa during the last 300 m in the men's single sculls. "I just looked over and thought about the eighties, pumped up the race and bow down," Porter said. Among the other stand-out performers were Michele De David of Massachusetts, Ont., gold-medal winner in the women's lightweight single sculls, and Marnie McBean of London, Ont., silver-medal winner in the women's single sculls. McBean, who with Kathleen Mullen, was paid a prize certificate at last year's Olympics in Barcelona. Afterward, the rowers basked in media attention. Some, like McBean—who has already appeared in a shampoo commercial—are getting used to the glory. But Chris Cookson of



McBean: endurances

St. Catharines, Ont., a member of the veteran eight-man team, said that he does not see any lucrative product endorsements in his future. "I think you have to row as a single to get those things," he said. "But we'll hang out together. There's no jealousy."

## A fortunate failing

"Even the good reviews take a different tack than you would," said David Adams Richards. "You've got to take them as they are and say, 'Well, fine.' That's a major shift for a man who doesn't quit writing in the mid-1980s, largely because of bad reviews. Now, his latest—and second—novel, *Far From the Heart of the World*, is a critical smash. And this month, Richards, winner of the prestigious Canada-Australia Literary Prize, left his native New Brunswick for a two-month reading tour in Australia, with his wife and 20-year-old son in tow. At 42, he said, he has only one regret about being a writer: Explained Richards: "The one thing I wanted to be besides a writer was a doctor."



## A critic exposed

An restaurant critic for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, Jeanne Kates seems to believe in hefty portions of acerbic wit and a pinch of poison. But Kates has a kinder, gentler side. Since 1989, she has spent her summers working as the director of Camp Arden on Algonquin Park, 200 km north of Toronto. Said Kates, 43: "As a restaurant critic, I'm taking it out on 46 people most of the time. So I find it liberating to be in the summer." The camp, founded by her grandfather Lillian Kates in 1934

and dedicated to helping children develop self-esteem, was the subject of *Algonquin Summer*, a documentary written and narrated by Kates that aired on CBC's *Prime Time Live* last week. The show has created one problem for Kates: she appears in it. "I've taken a risk with my restaurant critic persona," she said. "But I couldn't deny that part of my life, which is so central, in order to keep anonymity." Kates plans to "play with things" so that restaurant writers will not recognize her when she does her critics' hat. "She'll be just going to tell you what I'm going to do," she said. "That would be going away too much."





Arafat receiving a fax in Tunis headquarters of PLO; a long-awaited promise to reject violence and terrorism

## RECOGNITION, AT LAST

**A** psychological Berlin Wall came tumbling down last week, the promise of peace rising from the rubble. After decades at loggerheads—Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) signed an agreement on mutual recognition, in Jerusalem. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's inner cabinet voted unanimously to approve that accord; a few hours later in Tunis, the PLO's executive committee also gave its blessing, by a 94-0 margin. That set the stage for a historic peace pact between two of the Middle East's most implacable foes. The two sides were to meet in Washington this week to sign an accord reached last month on Palestinian self-rule in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Rabin, a former army general who led his troops to victory over Egypt, Jordan and Syria in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, claimed that the Jewish state had to take risks. "Peace you don't make with threats,



### AMID PROTESTS, ISRAEL AND THE PLO SIGN A PEACE ACCORD MARKING A NEW ERA

but with very unsympathetic enemies," he declared. "I want you to make the PLO look good. It was an enemy, it remains an enemy, but negotiations must be with enemies."

The Israeli negotiators, worked out during months of secret meetings in Oslo and at a final flurry of bargaining in Paris, in the

biggest breakthrough in Middle East diplomacy since Israel's 1979 peace treaty with Egypt. In Washington, President Bill Clinton praised the agreement as an act of "courage and vision." And he announced that on Sept. 25 he would host a gala ceremony on the south lawn of the White House at which Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat were to sign their accord on Palestinian self-rule. More encouraging reports quickly followed: Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Rabin Hanein of Jordan said that their negotiators could also sign a draft peace agreement in Washington this week. That leaves only the conclusion of separate negotiations with Syria and Lebanon, both of which were progressing last week, to achieve the comprehensive peace that has eluded the Middle East since the violent birth of the state of Israel in 1948.

Last week's mutual recognition came in the form of letters exchanged by Rabin and Arafat. Rabin signed a short letter acknowl-

edging the PLO as the "representation of the Palestinian people" and pledging to negotiate peace with the PLO. In a longer letter, Arafat recognized the "right of the state of Israel to exist in peace and security." The PLO, he wrote, committed itself to the Middle East peace process and to a "personal resolution to the conflict," adding that "all outstanding issues relating to the permanent status [of the occupied territories] will be resolved through negotiations." Arafat affirmed that "those articles of the Palestinian constitution which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now repugnant and no longer valid."

Arafat also wrote a side letter to Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jørgen Holm, who played a key role in negotiating the mutual recognition and the self-rule accord. In it, the PLO chairman promised to encourage the 1.6 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to "take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting

armed struggle." Opposing the plan are 45 per cent of Israeli Jews, a drop of four percentage points from the first poll. As many as 60,000 right-wing Israelis and Jewish settlers showed their opposition last week by clashing with police outside Rabin's office in Jerusalem. "The demonstrators, inspired by a Torah-banned rule, insisted that Palestinians at Oslo be the first step towards an independent Palestinian state—with Arab East Jerusalem as its capital. They roared to scuffle the police just by any means necessary (page 38).

There was also opposition on the Palestinian side. Militants see the plan as a PLO surrender that ignores such key issues as Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, the status of Jerusalem and the future of refugees in the diaspora. The odds are that those issues will likely be delayed for at least two years, when talks begin on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. Abdel Aziz Rantisi, a spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood group Hamas, pledged to resist any attacks against Israeli targets as long as Israeli soldiers occupy Palestinian land. Hamas has been the PLO's biggest rival during years on years of turmoil, or rebellion, in the West Bank and Gaza.

In a move clearly designed to pacify the Arab militants, Israel allowed some 180 Palestinian deportees to return last week. Israel had expelled 425 men to southern Lebanon last December after two Israeli soldiers and one border guard were slain earlier that month. Most of the deportees are members or supporters of Hamas, which is opposed to Arab-Israeli talks. Last week, Gold Hershkovitz, a senior aide to Rabin, said that the deportees must first be taken to detention camps where Israeli security forces would then decide—on the basis of evidence gathered on the men—who would be sent to jail and who would be sent home. While their repatriation removes a focus of Islamic protests against Israel and PLO moderates, all the deportees were not being released solely to avoid sparking huge Israeli protests against the peace pact. Resenting to Lebanon are more than 200 Palestinian



Rabin signing a letter recognizing the PLO: "It was an enemy, it remains an enemy"

violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and performing actively in shaping socioeconomic, economic development and co-operation."

The accord on Palestinian self-rule proposes unilateral autonomy in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho, with limited self-rule for the rest of the West Bank during a five-year interim period. A poll published last week by Israeli Daily Algemein (*The Jewish News*) newspaper showed that 37 per cent of Israeli Jews now support the self-rule plan, up four percentage points from a poll conducted soon after the peace accord was

who will be allowed to return in December. Rabin's peace gamble also could lose some Israeli support in the Israeli Knesset (parliament). Last week, Interior Minister Azye Dolev, leader of the ultra-Orthodox Shas party, threatened to remove the support of the party's members of parliament. A Shas-linked panel of Jewish settlers had earlier called for a boycott of the peace pact and deputy prime minister Ariel Sharon, also of Shas, because of corruption allegations. Dolev complained that the prime minister was not doing enough to protect him from the charges. It

## World Notes

### SLAUGHTERS IN SOMALIA

In Mogadishu, U.S. helicopter missions fired on Somali women and children in what the United Nations said was a "last-minute" effort to keep the civilians from falling in troops. Witnesses claimed that at least 150 people were killed. Chief UN military spokesman Maj. David Shedd, 3, blamed the attack on the forces of Islamic Somali National leader Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid, wanted by the United Nations for a series of attacks that have killed 48 UN personnel and wounded more than 150 since May. A subsequent UN attack last week claimed the lives of five Somalis working for UN.

### FLORIDA HORRORS

A jury in Fort Pierce, Fla., sentenced one victim, once an innocent teenager for selling fire to a black tourist last New Year's Day. Within hours of the incident, a German tourist was shot and killed on a Miami highway—the eighth murder victim in a spate of shootings against tourists in Florida since last October. Police arrested three suspects in the latest shooting.

### POW DISCOVERY

A newly released Soviet intelligence report from the Vietnam War era says errors that Hanoi held 735 American POWs in late 1970 or early 1971, although it publicly acknowledged only 360. A Vietnamese foreign ministry spokesman blamed the discrepancy on either a Kremlin misreading or a deliberate fabrication. Western diplomats said that the new report could do little to improve U.S.-Vietnam ties at a time when President Bill Clinton was considering lifting or relaxing economic sanctions against Hanoi.

### CUBAN CAPTIVITIES

Cuban President Fidel Castro authorized his wife to make private contacts in a widespread effort to end the crisis, effectively lifting a state monopoly of production, employment and sales on the Communist island.

### OVERHAULING GOVERNMENT

President Bill Clinton unveiled a sweeping plan to reform U.S. government bureaucracy that he said could save \$140 billion over five years. The plan, drafted by Vice-President Al Gore, would reduce the federal bureaucracy by 15 per cent or about 222,000 jobs, cut spending and streamline regulations, oversee law enforcement and overhaul the federal personnel system.



Shas withdrew its support, that would leave Ra'anan's coalition in a minority with 56 seats in the 120-member parliament. Ra'anan would then have to rely on the support of five members of Aish parties, who lack the government's true outside but are not partners in the coalition, to ensure a bare majority. Right-wing leader Leizer Ben-Zur, Netanyahu, who took part in the Jerusalem protests last week, vowed that his party would spearhead a drive to bring down the government. Said Ra'anan of the Diet's resignation: "There is no doubt that this could have the chance for peace."

The agreement holds political problems for Arafat, as well. In Israel last week, the members of the 10-member PLO executive committee did not take part in the vote on recognition, because they oppose Arafat's policy. Later, three members reportedly resigned. In effect, the agreement was passed only by Arafat's Fatah, the PLO's dominant group. It does not contain the more radical Palestinian factions. The leader of one of those groups, Abu Mus'ab, threatened Arafat, with accusations last week for his peace accord. Above all, the agreement does not have the backing of the Muslim Brotherhood. Hamas, which rejects a Jewish state in its efforts to establish a Muslim state, is estimated to command the support of up to 35 per cent of Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Arafat's success or failure will hinge on his personal authority, which has been severely diminished in recent years. His endorsement of Arafat's 1988 invasion of Kuwait earned him widespread opposition—and the loss of backing from Gulf Arab states. Arafat now has to convince Palestinians, both in the territories and in the diaspora, that he represents their best hope of attaining national sovereignty.

Far from the problems still facing the Middle East, last last week White House staffers had already prepared for the thousands of guests and journalists expected to attend the official signing of the Israel-PLO accord. On a cruise-ship flight along the Florida coast from Washington to the silicon valley south of San Francisco, Clinton spent nearly three hours on the phone, talking to two leaders and making personal judgments. He told former president Jimmy Carter that he wanted "people to remember that Camp David is an integral part of the process," referring to the accords that Carter mediated between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1978. Clinton also placed an old rival, George Bush, who started the latest round of Middle East peace talks two years ago. "You really should be proud of everything you did on this," Clinton told Bush in the cockpit over the ongoing breakthroughs in the Middle East, the spirit of reconciliation was positively infectious.

ANNEKE RILSKA with ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem



## Making war on peace

*A Canadian-born rabbi challenges the accord*

Israel's leaders, peace agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) earned praise from a Canadian with local color: media born Coined Black. The owner of The Jerusalem Post, Israel's only English-language daily, endorsed the accord last week in its editorial-page editor. He called it "Israel's only practical option"—repeating his headline editor, David Ben Elia, in the

daily Jewish link to Palestinians. Rabbin, or Lubliner, is the fastest-growing and most dynamic wing of orthodox Judaism. Anson, who studied at a Montreal seminary before moving to Israel 38 years ago, told Moshe's that his group is "telling to do everything we have to do—nothing is off the table." The rabbi said that Lublin had raised 300 billboards, bought full-page ads in several Hebrew and English language newspapers and printed 1.5 million pamphlets and tens of thousands of bumper stickers to get out its message. Anson also took credit for the large number of protesters at the anti-Rabin rally last week. He said, "I had gathered more than 1,000 buses to take them there."

Anson claims that his campaign has been blessed by the Bible, or spiritual leader of Lublin, Rabbi Moshe Mendel Schneerson. But the 91-year-old Schneerson, who lives in Brooklyn, N.Y., has not been able to speak since he suffered a stroke two years ago. He can only nod and shake his head, which his disciples sometimes take as a sign of approval. Placards bearing the Rebbe's portrait and quotations to prepare for the coming of the Messiah were conspicuous among the demonstrators in Jerusalem.

For Anson and his Hasidic followers, the agreement is the peace agreement at a holy crusade. "I believe this agreement will lead to a Palestinian state, and it will be a disaster," he said. "There is no reason why the Palestinians are going to stop killing women and children. The people will recognize that there is a danger to their lives. We are going to continue giving this message away." With a war that has cost some 30,000 lives, he estimated at \$65 million, that message could revolutionize Israel for years to come.

ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem

### Right-wing Israeli protesters: no surrender

process. Black described the pact as "a chance between the possibility of peace and the certainty of escalated conflict," adding: "The editor of the Post correctly makes the point that [Yasser] Arafat and the PLO have never lived up to any agreement they have made. I believe that this time there is a real chance they will, because their survival will depend on making peace work." But one prominent Canadian has lined up behind the Israel-PLO deal, another is backing opposition to it. Rabbi Yisroel Anson, the Toronto-born director of the ultra-orthodox Hachad movement in Israel, declared itself for opposing and it missing last week's mass demonstrations outside Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's office in Jerusalem.

The eloquent, effusive Anson boasts of a "nationalistic budget" budget for his campaign is to be the accord which he fears will lead to the surrender of

two years ago. He can only nod and shake his head, which his disciples sometimes take as a sign of approval. Placards bearing the Rebbe's portrait and quotations to prepare for the coming of the Messiah were conspicuous among the demonstrators in Jerusalem.

ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem

### SOUTH AFRICA

## Black power breakthrough

*Negotiators agree on a multiracial leadership*

Just a few years ago, it would have been unthinkable that a world leader, after several days of heated debate in Johannesburg's World Trade Centre, majority negotiators approved a watershed agreement during early one of the final sessions to ending more than 380 years of white minority rule in South Africa. Delegates to the democracy talks, involving most political groups and the government of President F. W. (Frederick) de Klerk, signed a draft bill to give representatives of the country's 28 million disenfranchised blacks a national leadership role for the first time—and well ahead of universal non-racial elections scheduled for next April 27. The legislation will create a so-called Transitional Executive Council (TEC), a multiracial body with broad authority to oversee the government until the vote. "The agreement to create the TEC," observed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, "is the beginning of the end of white supremacy."

The bill, supported by 19 of the 23 parties represented at the talks, is likely to be approved by the white-dominated parliament during a special two-week session that begins this week. Simultaneously, negotiators will work on an interim constitution to take effect once the first fully democratic parliament is elected next spring. Mandela promised to call for an end to all economic sanctions against South Africa once the draft bill is passed. But conservative groups on both sides of South Africa's racial divide condemned the power-sharing deal—and wanted of civil war.

The president by black transitional council will have about two dozen members and could be operating by the end of October. It will have ultimate control over a new 10,000-member peacekeeping force and will also oversee the police, the army, the budget and the civil service, and can restrict the president's right to declare a state of emergency. But, once again, the violence that has marred South Africa's march towards democracy accompanied the breakthrough. In last week's bloodiest incident, gunmen in a parking lot outside Johannesburg killed 19 people and wounding 22 others. In all, about 1,200 people have died in political violence since the election date was set on July 4. The ANC, whose rivalry with Klerk



Nelson Mandela, still warning of impending civil war

Mangosuthu Buthe's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom party underlies much of the bloodshed, blamed the latest deaths on forces against an abiding progress towards democracy.

terms. "Whenever we make a breakthrough, then these massacres occur," said Mandela. But de Klerk blamed the killings on both sides and urged them to take steps to stop the cycle of violence.

In Uitenhage, the capital of the black townships township, Inkatha rejected his warning that the conflict "involved civil war." In South Africa would intensify if deals worked out in the ongoing negotiations, which he is boycotting, are pushed through without Inkatha's support. "The potential for action against the election is already high and will grow quickly," Buthe said, warning his view that elections are aimed at consolidating of power.

Right-wing whites were similarly alarmed. The pro-apartheid Conservative party, which has also boycotted the talks, claimed that it would fight before accepting a "consensus-controlled African National Congress government." And neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance movement leader Eugene Terre-Blanche said that negotiators had created a situation in which all civil war was worse than ever. "It is unsafe to think any decision can be taken by politicians without the Afrikaner and Zulu nations taking part," he said. "Unrest and chaos will follow."

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# Mudslinging in Moscow

Corruption charges extend as far as Canada

When Sergei Porynikov went to traffic police headquarters in Moscow last week to pay a 1,280-ruble (\$150) fee to certify his borrowed, 1986 Lada as roadworthy for another year, he brought along a bundle of vodka. The 37-year-old radio technician slipped the duty officer the liquid bribe to avoid a supposedly mandatory inspection on his car, which has only one working headlight and questionable brakes. But two days later, Porynikov got a follow-up call from the cop he had paid off: the inspection fee had gone up, he was told. Now the price was two bottles of vodka.



Aleksandr Babitskiy, exposing an alleged insider plot

He. Mr. most Russians, usually accept that many ethical and business transactions must be

accompanied with bribes, bribes or kickbacks. As a result, a flurry of recent allegations of corruption at the highest levels of government have caused him little shock or surprise. "Democracy, communism—what's the difference?" said Porynikov. "Government officials bring their pockets full of old Russian tradition."

Certainly, the new Russia, that is struggling to emerge from the ruins of communism in a rough-edged society marked by blatant crime and intellectual dishonesty. Fraud and other white-collar crimes are tearing at criminal organizations and corrupt officials seek to profit from Russia's chaotic transition to a market economy. Russian and Western observers alike say that crime, business and government in Russia are now intertwined in an astonishing degree that enters from traffic cops as the take to revive and military officials plundering the nation's wealth for personal gain. Said Jeremy Krasman, Canada's ambassador to Moscow: "Corruption is the biggest problem facing Russia today—part only in government but throughout the entire society." And as Krasman and other Canadian officials are keenly aware, the influx from charges and countercharges of corruption, encouraged by supporters and opponents of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, can extend as far abroad as Canada.

Yeltsin side. As Shavlovskiy denied allegations that he had embezzled \$18 million in state funds, an angry Yeltsin stripped Rutskoy of all government posts—including the chairmanship of the corruption commission.

The president's next step was about grasping to seize some dirt on Rutskoy. And last month, the 66-year-old anti-corruption commission, now led by pro-Yeltsin, fired back at its former chief, accusing him of corruption. It did so by alleging that a firm con-

ceded with the international trading company, Zurich-based Seabrook Group, which until last year had its headquarters in Toronto, had deposited at least \$1 million in a secret bank account that Rutskoy controlled in Switzerland.

There is no evidence of wrongdoing against Seabrook, which specializes in business ventures in Russia and other former Soviet republics. But neither suppresses allegations against Rutskoy by the corruption commission—that money had been diverted from Russian state funds intended for the purchase of baby food—has focused attention on Seabrook, a multinational firm that Likhachev claims Boris Babitskiy is suspected in Toronto in 1993. Corruption commission investigator Andrei Makarov has credited Toronto resident Dmitri Likhachev, a former Seabrook employee who had a falling out with Rutskoy last year, with providing important information linking Seabrook

payments to Rutskoy's Swiss account. In a sensational late August news conference that was broadcast across the country, Makarov told a crowded hall of reporters: "Revelation of conspiring against Yeltsin. According to Makarov, on July 22 former Seabrook employee Likhachev told a large audience who had lined up for the prosecutor's office last year, and disclosed his allegations by the company's news media, but Russian harbor any illusions about the pervasiveness of crime and corruption. Thanks to a little video, we

can see that there is a serious problem in our country. For one, how a certificate allowing him to drive around Moscow in a car that would be a proper subject for investigation. It is a condition similar to millions of Russians, bypassing the laws of an increasingly lawless country.

With such internal government debates reaching widespread coverage by the country's news media, few Russians harbor any illusions about the pervasiveness of crime and corruption. Thanks to a little video, we can see that there is a serious problem in our country. For one, how a certificate allowing him to drive around Moscow in a car that would be a proper subject for investigation. It is a condition similar to millions of Russians, bypassing the laws of an increasingly lawless country.

power struggle—has had an essential success. Between the time that he taped Rutskoy's telephone remarks and his subsequent resignation by Yeltsin supporters, someone left a threatening note in Rutskoy's car last January. Rutskoy's reaction in May 11. The unknown visitor threatened the well-known demand that Likhachev stop speaking out about Russian corruption by firing three shots through the price of his \$5-million mansion, through Likhachev's BMW.

These backbiting sides, the most lurid results of Russia's political mudslinging to date have been blatant details of ineptness and a scattering of label and slander lawsuits on both sides of the Atlantic. In Canada, lawyers representing Seabrook are seeking \$10 million in damages from Likhachev for statements that have allegedly misrepresented the firm's activities and harmed Boris Babitskiy's reputation. In Moscow, meanwhile, Shavlovskiy has filed a slander suit against Rutskoy, who in turn is contemplating similar action against Yeltsin loyalists. This course of action became more fiery earlier this month when Makarov publicly presented General Ponomarev's confession that, after reviewing 1,800 pages of documents, there did not appear to be enough evidence to warrant laying criminal charges against the Russian vice-president.

Ponomarev has been repeatedly quoted about the difficulties of bringing powerful politicians to trial at a time when the executive and parliamentary branches of the Russian government are struggling for supremacy. Said Ponomarev: "The one is able to lay his hands on the most corrupt individuals among the leadership. The prosecutor's examination relies on part of the investigative bodies which performed better on the other."

In that neighboring atmosphere, even the actions of reformers intent on checking corruption can invite suspicion. Foreign Trade Minister Sergei Glazyev discovered that recently when he seemed to impose more controls over loosely monitored exports of oil, gas and metals, investigations cleared him of any involvement in a scam in which seven million tons of state-subsidized oil were quietly redirected to more profitable markets in Western Europe. And Glazyev's investigation, said his way. But critics among his cabinet colleagues continue to maintain that although oil and metal export permits from 200 to about 15 will surely concentrate the power to select beneficiaries.

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MICHAEL GREY in Moscow

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# MARKET POLITICS

## CANADA'S MARKETS GET EDGY AS THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BEGINS

As the long-awaited federal election campaign began last week, Bay Street's powerful financial institutions quickly joined the nation's political parties in heated polemics to probe the collective psyche of Canadians. Major banks and investment dealers have signed up to receive daily reports on how Canadians plan to vote. "There's a lot of uncertainty about this election," said Sherry Cooper, chief economist at Burns Fry Ltd. in Toronto, to "send our clients around the world word to be kept informed." Economists Research Group Ltd. of Toronto, one of the polling companies offering its services to Bay Street, will survey 200 Canadians daily to find out how their intentions change during the nine-week election campaign. Using a surprise Gallup poll during the last federal election that incorrectly indicated a Liberal win—and triggered a drop in the value of the dollar—Douglas Dasko, an Economex vice-president, said "After that 'pollster' poll, the financial community began to realize that polls can have consequences and that it pays to keep on top of them."

Bay Street's election watch election polls is a sign of just how sensitive the markets are in this election. One reason for that sensitivity is the high level of Canadian debt held by foreign investors, who would be quick to pull up if government policies became less attractive for their purposes. Foreigners now hold \$195 billion worth of Canadian government debt, or 37 per cent of the total, up from about \$112 billion, or 29 per cent, in 1985. "Markets get in a state, too," said the head of one Toronto bond trading company. "They vote by walking away from the market. And their vote in 1985 was substantially bigger than it was in 1986." In addition, the outcome of this election is even more uncertain, as five parties face it: even the Tories and Liberals enter the campaign virtually tied in the polls. Some market watchers held the polls' edginess partially responsible for the Toronto Stock Exchange's two-day plunge last week. Political uncertainty, combined with doubts about Canada's economic recovery, create nervousness and encourage investors to stay on the sidelines. "We'll be very pleased to see the election out of the way," said Paul Thurnby, a senior portfolio manager



Investors trading in one of the electronic W.P. purchase party exchanges.

with facing International in London. "There are a lot of reasons to be worried." By nature, the financial community tends to advocate reduced government borrowing and less intervention in the economy. As a result, Bay Street favors a Tory minority government with a strong mandate to cut the deficit. Few institutions, however, are likely to take a high-profile role in the Tory campaign for fear of rocking a public backlash against what is perceived as the corporate

agenda—the same sort of establishment movement that helped defeat the Tories in last year's ill-fated constitutional referendum. The irony is that the financial sector, while not usually hanging about the dangers of housing government borrowing, is also one of the groups that benefits most directly from public debt. By acting as underwriters in raising billions of dollars each year from foreign and domestic investors, financial institutions collect millions of dollars in fees

While Bay Streeters have been critical of some aspects of the Conservative party's performance since it took power in 1984, they do not see the other parties as attractive alternatives. In fact, the Liberals have been producing controversy in Canadian financial circles because Mr. Crow has proved as creditably internationally as an effective central banker. Why would Mr. Crow's exit to lose that? Added Burns Fry's Sherry Cooper: "There is no need for Mr. Crow to take on John Crow or investors has perceived independence. There is no way play will in home, it runs the risk of destabilizing markets and therefore the economy."

Subsequently, Paul Martin, the Liberal associate finance critic and co-author of the party's policy platform statement (which is scheduled for release this week), attempted to clarify the party's stance. "Two years ago, we were calling for a monetary policy similar to the bank's policy now," Martin told Martin's last week. "We believe that if the government and the bank had followed our view a year and a half ago, we would not have the painfully high level of unemployment that we have now." But, he noted, "Today we are satisfied that the bank policy of the bank in the past six months has been correct."

But Stacey, whose firm runs assets about \$125 billion—including \$1.3 billion now invested in Canada—says that it is uncomfortable with that conclusion. "Give me a break," he said. "If they're satisfied with it, why does Christian keep talking about it?"

The fate of the Bank of Canada's monetary policy is increasingly dependent on Bay Street as the single issue that could do the most damage to financial markets during this election. "Luckily, the [Canadian] government came at a time when the markets in Europe and the United States were on a building," said a bond trader who spoke on condition of anonymity.

He added that if the Liberals appear poised to win the election—and if they permit, with policy statements that appear to threaten the central bank's traditional independence—interest rates would likely start to climb. In theory, they would have to rise enough to force foreign investors, who are fearful of leaving their investments denuded by inflation or a falling dollar, to leave during their summer holidays. But low home, high foreign rates could stomp out the fragile economic recovery now taking shape.

But Crow's monetary policy is not the only

issue. Sold Bob Stacey, a fund manager at Alliance Capital Management Ltd. in New York City. "Mr. Christian has made it clear on a number of occasions that the story of Canada is in issue for him. It's a very strong wishful position because Mr. Crow has proved as creditably internationally as an effective central banker. Why would Mr. Crow's exit to lose that? Added Burns Fry's Sherry Cooper: "There is no need for Mr. Crow to take on John Crow or investors has perceived independence. There is no way play will in home, it runs the risk of destabilizing markets and therefore the economy."

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But Crow's monetary policy is not the only

### JOBS AND JOBSLESS FALL

Statistics Canada announced last week that the unemployment rate fell to 11.3 per cent in August from 11.5 per cent the previous month. But economists say that the rate came down only because the number of people in the labor force declined 4 by 67,000. That number of Canadian workers falls actually tally by 30,000 in 1.58 million.

### NAFTA NOT NEARLY THERE

The United States will not reopen the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) if the Liberal party wins Canada's federal election and demands changes, U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor said last week. Kantor said that while the U.S. and Mexico are working on strengthening Canada's position, Christian also said in his last visit to Washington in February, 1987, that a Liberal government might walk away from the existing Canada-U.S. trade deal if Washington did not agree to changes.

### CAR SALES SLUGGISH

August was the third month in a row that Canadian automotive sales declined. Sales for the three major North American companies were off 1.8 per cent as a group while those for foreign-based automakers fell 2.9 per cent. One of the most notable casualties of weak consumer confidence, the auto industry posted sales increases this year in March and May.

### INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS

Germany's central bank slashed two key short-term interest rates last week to help pull its economy out of recession. Other European governments quickly followed with similar reductions. The German Bundesbank has been under pressure from other European countries to cut its high interest rate and help restore stability in the European money markets. Germany has kept interest rates high to fight inflation—now at 4.2 per cent—resulting from the cost of German unification.

### CANARY'S LAST SONG?

Even banks that have already made millions of dollars into the Canary Wharf office development in London have agreed to put up more than \$1 billion to complete the project and gain control over it. The alternative to that proposal, which is now before the project's associated creditors, is to liquidate Canary Wharf. York Development Ltd. (YDL) of Toronto lost control of the project last year.

lower that financial markets will be watching carefully. Leo de Bever, chief economist at Norcan Canada Inc., the Toronto-based office of the Japanese securities firm, said that anything from the federal deficit to Quebec's separation could blow up and spook foreign investors. "They're sort of a hidden participant in this election," says de Bever. So far, however, the international financial community has not been paying excessive attention to Canada. "My sense is that the prevailing wisdom among foreign investors is that the Tories will win a majority," says de Bever, who considers a variety of Japanese questions. If the Tories lose, however, de Bever says that the market might react badly. Citing the example of a daily typical fund manager in Tokyo with a \$100-million portfolio, including \$2 billion in Canada, he notes: "It takes a certain event as a set of events before Canadian assets can be sold for that manager. An election is that kind of event."

De Bever speculated, for example, that photographs of a large, enthusiastic Bloc Québécois demonstration calling for the secession of Quebec could inspire foreign investors and cause them to flee back from the Canadian markets. In addition, he said that many foreign portfolio managers now have a larger than normal proportion of their investments in Canada because they have been optimistic about Canada's near-term economic potential, among them an another reason is that they decide that the economy is overextended in changing for the worse. "It's scary to think about because in the short run it could get easily," he said. "But, on the other hand, we Canadians have made these periods of political turmoil into annual events, so many investors have learned to sell and let it happen."

The markets began to build in a so-called



Crowd markets dislike political interference

market cushion well before the election was called, just as they did last year before the referendum on the Constitution. Like a fire-bomb in which a limited area is desired or placed to prevent a fire from sweeping through out of control, a cushion of higher interest rates and a lower dollar acts as a disincentive for investors to leave the market. Since July, the Canadian dollar has fallen two cents in value to about 76 cents (U.S.). During the same period, the bank rate has climbed twice that much, a 1.4 percentage point to five per cent.

Last week, the stock market, which is not

directly related to the highly interest-sensitive bond and currency markets, plunged 170 points, or 4.2 per cent, in two days. A 584 drop in gold bullion prices, which directly reduced the value of the shares of Canadian gold mining companies trading on the exchange, started the sell-off. But the election may also have played a role: "There's a loss direct one. The market doesn't like uncertainty," said Fred Riches, director of equity trading at Scotia-McLeod Inc. in Toronto. "With the election on, people are expecting uncertainty and that makes them nervous and makes them want to wait it out on the sidelines." He added: "When you have a couple of days like we just had when some people wanted to sell, and others wanted to stay on the sidelines, then naturally the market goes down."

On a broader scale, Riches blames the stock market's poor showing since 1987 on Canada's almost constant political turmoil over free trade, the Goods and Services Tax and the protected constitutional debate. "That's why the Toronto market was one of the last in the world to reach record highs after the 1989 crash," he said. In fact, it was only two weeks ago that the Toronto Stock Exchange index of 300 companies surpassed its all-time record high of 6112.8, recorded in August, 2007. It hit a new high of 6107.4 on Sept. 1, six days before it plunged. By contrast, the New York Stock Exchange surpassed its 2007 high of 2723.42 in 2008 and went on to its all-time high of 2870.99 late last month.

Still, a sudden dramatic event in the campaign could trigger a sharp market move. "If everyone is planning for it and anticipating it, the markets usually don't react too much," said Bryan Geddes, senior vice-president of treasury operations at the Royal Bank of Canada. "The thing that creates market uncertainty is a surprise that no one expects. If a prime minister appearing on TV and tearing a document to shreds? That, of course, as a reference to the referendum debate, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney ripped a copy of a speech in half after citing a Royal Bank study that put a poor tag on Quebec's separation for every Canadian family. Almost immediately, public support for the agreement began to waver and the perception that politicians and the corporate community had pulled forces to force the agreement through. With the crisis over the bank took for issuing that report still ringing, Geddes says: "There is always the danger that someone will open mouth and start talking. The markets can never prepare for that one." And that's what makes elections exciting.

BRUNDA DANGLE

# THE VOICE FROM LEFT FIELD

Bob White urges union leaders to stand firm, even in difficult times

Labor Day on a day for trade unions to put on a happy face. But as Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) president Bob White walked in a tight line at the front of a parade of 30,000 marchers in downtown Toronto last week, he was putting on a very brave face. Union members in Toronto and across the country had little to celebrate this year. Battered by a three-year-old economic downturn, many are accepting wage freezes, even involuntarily, in the hopes of saving their jobs. In the Toronto area, even White and federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin climbed as marchers joined a throng of Ontario Premier Bob Rae spotted by a provincial civil servant—a sign of the growing strain between unions and the political party that has traditionally championed their cause. As the march neared its conclusion at an entrance to the Canadian National Exhibition grounds, several onlookers stopped off the sidewalk and waving to behind White, his 11-year-old daughter Sydney and the other union leaders in the parade. But White did not acknowledge that as a soldier out of uniform for so long. "People always give the parade near the end," he said with a smile. "You get late the Exhibition too."

All joking aside, White, 58, concedes that he is struggling to rally the congress's 2.2 million members toward the "no concessions" mantra that he has preached throughout his 40 years in a union career. As the chief negotiator for Canadian auto workers during the 1980-1989 moratorium, he gained attention by talking at demands for rebuffs by General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, and for selling away from the U.S.-based United Auto Workers union (UAW) in 2005. White himself still draws cheers from the rank and file at functions two days later's parade. But even he acknowledges that the latest recession has battered organized labor much harder than the last downturn. "Every year, more contracts were negotiated for unskilled workers declined in a negative 60 per cent in the second quarter of this year. Membership in large industrial unions is eroding dramatically as Canadian corporations continue to slash costs and employees. Disputing workers in the growing but low-paid service sector is turn growing to be difficult and costly. The big thing stopping it at home," said White. "Fear that you're going to lose your job and a cynicism that the labor movement can do anything for you."

In the coming weeks, Canadian unions face two big tests of their unity and inspiring strength. The first is the current round of contract talks between the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) and the Big Three domestic automakers—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Last month, the union chose Chrysler as its strike target should the two sides fail to reach a settlement when the current three-year contract governing 30,000 workers at all three companies expires in

week, both White and McLaughlin told Marston that the latter diagnosed this marriage between public sector unions and NDP governments in Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan have caused workers to question their links with the party. McLaughlin, who was greeted politely by marchers, said that "in any family, you are going to have some fights." White, in turn, conceded that some former activists will likely sit out the election. He also said that the latter right with



White: A dollar-an-hour wage cut does not guarantee job-long-term security

Sept. 14. Of the three, Chrysler is the boldest financially, and as the deadline approaches last week, CAW leaders were still seeking wage increases, better pensions, longer income security for laid-off workers and reduced work time—only in an effort to spread the work in an industry that is shutting to recover. But even White warned that shutting down huge sections of the industry in Canada—and in the United States—with a strike could slow an economic recovery. "We have to see," White said. "People say you have the power. Well, you also have the power to shoot yourself in the foot."

The second challenge is striking rebuffs the support for the New Democrats in the federal election. Union leaders have rarely succeeded at convincing as much more than one-quarter of their members to vote NDP in federal and provincial elections, according to the CLC itself. During the Toronto parade last

week, two young union leaders that "you can't elect a social democratic government and put all back on your heels." But he added that he has already filed court cases for the party, which will be sent to individual voters. "There is no possibility of a minority government in this election," White said. "So the voters of NDP members of Parliament are going to be very important."

Despite widespread gloom among union members, and the dispute with the NDP preface, White remains remarkably upbeat. That, he says, is partly because he has watched unions survive with similar problems throughout his career. He arrived in Canada from Ireland with his family at the age of 14. The following year he dropped out of high school and began working at a small woodworking plant in Woodstock, Ont., 125 km west of Toronto. There he joined the UAW, and quickly rose through the ranks.



becoming a lifetime organizer for the union in Ontario in his mid-80s. However, his devotion was rewarded a heavy personal toll. In his 1987 autobiography, *Mere Dangers*, White said that he "became a pattern, which has persisted, of having almost no spare time for almost anything else." He and his first wife, Gertrude, separated in 1976 after 18 years of marriage. White said that when he left, his two teenage sons, Todd and Steven, "were crying and Todd was crying me." But White, now remarried, says that since then he has reconciled with them.

White grappled with the issue of plant closures long before Canadian manufacturers began fleeing to the United States and Mexico in large numbers in the 1980s. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, rising companies closed plants in heavily unionized Ontario towns such as Windsor, and relocated in towns like Barrie where the unions were less powerful. White and other union organizers followed.

Similarly in bargaining with the beleaguered Big Three automakers in the early 1980s, White wrestled with the question that is now vexing many other union leaders: should they agree to concessions to save jobs? During those negotiations, White developed a reputation as a tough and well-matched negotiator, a style captured in an on-the-job documentary in *Pinot Noir*, a 1983 National Film Board documentary about his conflict talks with General Motors. He still

advocates a hard line. Said White: "I know it's hard for the worker who gets up on Monday morning and sits around the breakfast table and says, 'The company says that I have to take a full-time-hour wage cut or they'll close the plant.' But White added, "People have to understand that that failure to hear doesn't guarantee you long-term security, it doesn't increase productivity and it won't solve the economic problems of the country."

White also continues adamantly opposed to wage and job cuts in the public sector even though government deficits are soaring. "Sure the deficit is a problem. But can you solve it short-term by cutting and hamstringing?" White asked. "Unless we have growth in the economy and job creation, all of this is not going to work." He also rejects the argument that Canadians must accept a lower standard of living to compete internationally in a new era of global free trade. "Globalization is a term coined by corporations," White said. "There is still a major role for national governments. There are still governments that are capable of rational conduct from there."

That kind of hardline rhetoric still wins so-



**Toronto Labor Day parade: disputes with provincial NDP governments**

phoric from many of the union faithful, but it does not appear to be winning over many new converts. Overall, 31 per cent of Canada's labor force belonged to unions in 1992. Although that is more than double the proportion in the United States, it is roughly the same level that has prevailed in Canada

since the mid-1970s. And despite the hardships caused by the recession, most Canadians still clearly distrust unions. In the second *Maclean's/Decima* poll published in January, only 23 per cent of respondents said that they looked to unions to look after their best economic interests, compared with 27 per cent who named government and 28 per cent who said business. Decima Research senior vice-president Michael Solli-

van said that public support for unions increased slightly in the late 1980s, but has since fallen back to "historic low levels."

White aims to overcome that distrust by forging alliances with social action groups outside the labor movement representing women, visible minorities, gays and lesbians and others. "If you look at a lot of immigrant wage jobs now, many are being done by immigrant workers. If the whole labor movement looks like flywhite men, people can't relate to that," White acknowledges that many of his own members are wary of branching out too far. But he points back to the 1980s, when UAW president Walter Reuther and other labor leaders took strong stands on civil rights and other causes. Said White: "You saw them identifying with progressive issues. The labor movement was seen not just as an interest group taking care of employed workers who say 'dunns.'"

As for his personal plans, White is much happier. Even with the NDP now in disarray and sagging in the polls, he dismisses any suggestion of entering politics. He repeats a joke he has told often: "I've always said I'd love to be prime minister of Canada. But I'd never make it through the appointment."

His personal life is still hectic. After White's first marriage collapsed, he married Marilynne Rubin, a flight attendant whom he met at a CLC convention in Quebec City in 1978, where she served as a delegate from the Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants As-

sociation. Since then, she has also climbed through the union ranks. In 1998, she began working as a full-time representative for the Canadian Union of Public Employees, which had absorbed her old union. Marilynne, 47, now negotiates and supervises contracts for a living just as her husband once did—although she says that she never seems at the bargaining table.

White was elected president of the CLC last year, so he now spends most of his week in Ottawa. He maintains a furnished apartment in the downtown Market district of the city. White jogs in the morning—three miles a day. However, during the week, White often flies to meetings or speaking engagements in several cities. Marilynne also travels extensively for her job, so the couple see each other mainly on weekends. "We're both so busy we have to make dates to see each other," she said. White admits that he still does not know "what it's like to come home for lunch—or even dinner."

But at the end of last week's Labor Day parade, the family did not stay on an after moon at the Exhibition. White went off to help move furniture into the NDP campaign office at his home. Even after just one week as a union leader, he is still fighting many of the same battles on the streets, just as he did early in his career—and it has not gotten any easier.

JOHN DALY

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The Penske pit crew working on No. 12 Tracy: "As it only going to get better"

## SPORTS

# The young lion roars

Paul Tracy is taking on racing's big boys

Some athletes look like what they do. Michael Jordan, with his shaved head and lithe build, has the aerodynamic build. LeBron James, with his broad shoulders and muscular legs, seems like a man who can take a beating. Take Paul Tracy, who drives the open-wheel race car made famous by the Indianapolis 500. His sport, definitely loud and absurdly dangerous, is full of people who look the part, like his teammate, Emerson Fittipaldi, a suave Brazilian, or dialing Danny Sullivan of Acura, Colo. These are guys who laugh in the face of death and make grown women cry. Tracy, freckled and bespectacled, looks like he spends a lot of time at the library. Then again, what matters is not how racers look but how they drive. And when he's added to the cohesiveness of his red and white No. 12, Tracy drives in his own—and his team's—lane as anyone in the business.

These are heady days for the 24-year-old from West Hill, Ont., a suburb of Toronto. Just a couple of years ago, he was out at

money and nearly out of the sport. Now, he drives for Penske racing, an esteemed organization that this year bestowed upon young Tracy a crack test and a scholarship to the 1993 season. At first, he admits, he had to prove himself. But he did not let good fortune get in the way of good driving. In his first full season on the Indy circuit, Tracy has won races at Long Beach, Calif., in April, Cleveland and Toronto in July, and Elkhart Lake, Wis., in August. Going into the third race of the season, which concludes Oct. 3 in Monterey, Calif., he had an outside chance to overtake Fittipaldi and series leader Nigel Mansell for the 1993 driver's title. Nigel Berenski, a Penske engineer and Formula One veteran, says that Tracy's success is not dependent on the Penske team alone. "Paul is such a professional talent that I think he sometimes takes it too good," Berenski said, standing in the pits before the Vancouver Indy last month. "He'll come off the track and explain any problems he is experiencing with the car, and you'd think it would show in his lap times, that it doesn't. He is that good."



Though racing is truly a stomach, Tracy is a veteran. He began driving go-karts at the age of 8, in summer, his father, a building contractor, would drop him off at the track on his way to work and pick him up on the way home. At 16, Tracy moved to cars and cracked his first major competitors by winning the 7th grade Ford series. At 17, he moved up and won the Can-Am class. In 1988, he graduated to the class immediately below Indy cars, now called Indy Lights, and won the first race he entered. In 1990, he was one of the 14 Indy Lights men and won the driver's title. The adjustment to Indy cars, however, was slower. It took a few crumpled cars and bruised heads to convince him to put his talents to his open-wheel drive. "On the kind of guy who knows from his own experience," he explains.

Tracing, all of course, is crucial in racing. In May 1992, Scott Goodyear of Toronto drove his MasterCard Lola to within .643 seconds of victory at the Indianapolis 500 and racing in

monotony, but his car has not been as competitive in 1993, and he currently has no sponsor beyond this season. Tracy knows the feeling: In the spring of 1991, he seemed to have his dream car. Three years of Indy Lights, he says, "had drained our family's finances totally." He had no viable offer from a team or sponsor, so his father decided to borrow \$50,000 to buy a ride with a low bid at the time at Long Beach. "Coming into that race to Long Beach," Tracy says, "I was thinking, 'Why are we racing this year? We have no chance to do anything with this team.' But he got the most out of a bad car, qualified respectably and, despite his engine blowing 13 laps into the race, stuck with it. I was sitting on a curb in the pit area while Roger Penske rode by," he recalls. "He said we were doing a good job." After the race, Tracy was invited to Penske's tender for a chat. A few months later, he signed with the team as a test driver.

Penske, 56, whose racing interests are the high-profile tip of the \$2.8-billion transaction from conglomerate to head, says he sees nothing unusual about meeting so much in summer to young. He looks for drivers who have won, who are consistent and who can handle the sponsor's demands that are as much a part of racing as the thrill of burnt rubber. "Paul really has in those criteria perfectly," Penske says during a rare quiet moment on race day in Vancouver. "And from now on, he is only going to get better through experience."

Indeed, Tracy is not usually at home on the schlemmer coast. He and other drivers attended a street-hairstyle thrown by sponsor Huggs Boudinette in Vancouver clothing store. The theme was western, complete with cowboy hats, a mechanical bull and Vancouver's young and beautiful offered in hand-to-hand and fringed leather jackets. The older drivers mingled comfortably with their hosts. But beyond the handshakes, Tracy seemed close of the backstage and social life. And as soon as he made his requested speech, he left. "He's getting better at it," says Susan Broadhead, the publicist who keeps him pointed in the right direction all day long. "But it's not easy."

He does, however, seem comfortable with the contract he signed as a rookie—for an undisclosed amount—which runs through 1995. "It would be nice to get a big race, but this is what I signed into when I was happy and had nothing," says Tracy, whose family resented last July when his wife, Tara, divorced him. Although "And besides, in the two years I have worked for Penske, I've been able to buy my own house and support my wife and daughter." Someday, though, he says he will make good on some old debt. "I know that my Goldenrod [racer] to be repaid," he says, recalling the family's success. "I think that's just writing me off well makes him happy." Considering Tracy's record, his father will likely be happy for some time to come.

JAMES DEACON is in Vancouver

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# Heartsick in high society

Scorsese switches his focus to Manhattan's upper crust

THE AGE OF INNOVENCE  
Directed by Martin Scorsese

**I**t is hard to imagine the director of *Mean Streets*, *Raging Bull* and *Goodfellas* making a film more removed from his world than *Age of Innocence*. Martin Scorsese has built his reputation on New York stories of wise guys and scuffling gangsters—naïve that made sense of violence and turned street slang into a kind of visceral poetry. With *Age of Innocence*, a magnificent movie based on the 1955 novel by American writer Edith Wharton, Scorsese leaves his neighborhood roots (at not his city) and shifts his view from the back street to the drawing room.

For the first time in his career, he explores upper-class society—and the 19th century. And Scorsese sees or does anything in half measure. The visual detail is so explicit, the music so refined and the emotion so reverently restrained that the movie almost becomes a parody of a period film about social pretige and inhibited romance. It is Scorsese's answer to *Howards End* and *Mary Queen of Scots*.

Set in the 1850s, *Age of Innocence* is a tragedy of manners about a man torn between two women—and two worlds. Socialite Newland Archer (Daniel Day-Lewis) is engaged to marry the lovely but cold May Welland (Winona Ryder). Bridging two blue-blooded families, their match is one made in high society heaven. But Newland becomes an animal, at first obsessed with his fiancée's cousin, Countess Ellen Drinker (Michelle Pfeiffer), who has just returned from Europe after the collapse of her marriage to a lush Irish lord.

Newland's designated bride is dull, daring and treacherous. Ellen is conspicuously forthright, an independent woman unimpaired by the English education of New York society. "It seems so stupid," she says, "to have discovered America only to make it a copy of another country." She incurs Newland's own dreams of freedom. But, locked in romantic purgatory, he lacks the will to follow his heart.

Fatally ending the novel, the movie relies heavily on narration, with Jeanette



Pfeiffer (left), Day-Lewis: previously restrained emotion

Woodward delivering Wharton's sly descriptions of the "smooth hypocrisy" and "unwilling restraint" that underlie "the artificial surface of society." That surface is a host of luxurious images: paintings, dresses, furniture and above all, food. Scorsese's camera moves with a dreamlike languid pace. On the bedlows scene it performs a slow swirl, gliding around couples and up stairs. It is a far cry from the rock 'n' roll pacing of *Goodfellas*, which Scorsese cut to the occasional rhythmic of the main character. But *Age of Innocence* cuts its own ironic spell. The lullabies.

Beneath layers of artifice, the romance unfolds as an almost harrowing progression of emotional tension. As the narrator says, the lovers' world is "balanced so precariously that its harmony could be shattered by a whisper." In those circumstances, acting becomes a fine-lined exercise in restraint. And

for that, both Day-Lewis and Pfeiffer are ideally cast. They express their characters' feelings with incredibly subtle signs—in flickers of veins and eyelashes. And in the rare moments when Newland and Ellen surrender to their passion, the risk is over-whelming.

Physically, both actors share a fine-lined delicacy. After playing a succession of dramed-down heroes, Pfeiffer can let her beauty shine. And her performance is transcendent with intelligence and subtlety. Day-Lewis, with his ashen features and apertur hands, seems almost more feminine. He conveys Newland's inner life with great eloquence. *Age of Innocence* could be a 100 degree shift from his previous role, as *Last of the Mohicans*, as a rugged frontiersman stranded between the Indian and white worlds. Still, once again he portrays a cultural half-breed: Newland is trapped in a pseudo-English aristocracy while dreaming of an America that, like Ellen, is just out of reach.

The other characters—played by a fine cast that includes Geraldine Chaplin and Mary Beth Hurt—represent the staid, repressed lovers like genteel show pieces. Missus Marple is especially dead-on. Mrs. Morgan, a naturally cold, is a pair of mountain dogs like as connoisseurs. Ryder plays May in a cool candor of passivity—but it is quite what she seems. Neither in the movie, a stilled beauty that smooches into passion, nor in the novel.

*Age of Innocence*, which Scorsese cowrote with Jay Cocks, avails the director's most familiar world. Despite the gulf between *Mean Streets* and the mean values of Wharton's world, Scorsese, as always, portrays individuals bound by a vital elegance. Like the gangsters in *Goodfellas*, who remain ritually catalogued while arranging a colleague's murder, Wharton's characters dwell in what she calls "a heretofore world where the end was never said, or done, or even thought." Scorsese pores over that code until it cracks.

DAVID D. JOHNSON

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The Skydiggers: extracting guitar patterns and warm rounded harmonies

## MUSIC

# Pop unplugged

Folk-rock is alive and well in Canada

**S**ince its origins in the mid 1960s with Bob Dylan and the Byrds, folk-rock has never gone out of style. Now, in the unplugged 2000s, acoustic guitars and vocal harmonies have become so fashionable that even hip-hop producers are turning off their amplifiers. And a new wave of committed bands and singer-songwriters has emerged to carry the folk-rock banner—particularly in Canada, where popular outfits like Blue Rodeo and Cowboy Junkies are well established. Toronto has spawned a large number of these acts, including the Skydiggers. The Saddletramps and Andrew Cash, all of whom have strong new releases. A plucked or strummed acoustic guitar opens nearly every track on *Just Over The Mountains* (2002), the Skydiggers' polished third album. Most of the material by the quintet, which won this year's Juno Award for Most Promising Group, revolves around extracting guitar patterns and the warm, woodsy harmonies of Andy Moore and Josh Thompson. But there is also a dozing edge to Skydiggers' finest tracks like "I'm Wandering" and "Dorset" and "Dumb," a rock

bagouri of a howler's woe. Two up-tempo numbers also stand out from the pack: the title song, with its rockabilly urgency, and band member Peter Cash's humorous "Old Riders," which catalogues the many ways to fall from a road trip.

In his first two solo albums, singer-songwriter Andrew Cash (the older brother of Skydigger Peter Cash) displayed a similar love of folk-rock legends like Neil Young and Gram Parsons. But he also has a taste for the punkish energy of The Clash and the northern wit of Bob Dylan. That facet of Cash's music takes precedence in his latest new release, *Fit* (MCA). He opens out the vocals in "John Endless," a chilling rocker about spiritual poverty. And this is, at times, an over-the-top, drugs-with-dogshit. But Cash can also reach on moments of the heart, as with the harmony-drenched

"It's Over." Although there's not a trace of acoustic guitar on his latest album, Cash's potent songwriting keeps him firmly rooted in the folk-rock tradition.

The Saddletramps, meanwhile, display a brass pop sensibility on their new independent release, *Well Gown Red* (Bluesrockers' orbit). Most of their songs are catchy, straight-ahead numbers that could easily find their way to Top 40 radio. Like Blue Rodeo, The Saddletramps have a country heart—rather than a full-on folk twang—in their music. And a world, dressing track like "Don't Stop" despite its pedal steel guitar, owes more to R.E.M. than to Rodney Crowell. A few songs deal with such woezy clichés as a hooker with a heart of gold ("Dinner Inconvenient"). But the quartet's sound, especially Andy Ladd's raspy vocal, seems out of place in a pop world like *Sugarscape*.

Call it folk-rock, country-rock or simply roots music—the new popular, catchall term. And like the Skydiggers, Andrew Cash and The Saddletramps are creating vibrant new sounds by keeping one foot in the past and the other squarely in the present.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

## SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING CROONED

**A**s a little girl growing up in Saratoga, N.Y., Anne Murray wanted to be "just like" Doris Day, that clear-voiced paragon of 1950s virtue. When she was a toddler, Murray began singing along to her parents' records by artists like Guy, Pat Boone and Bing Crosby. And even though as a teenager she was off buying the latest rock releases, the earlier tunes left a lasting impression. Their legacy has been apparent in the silky-smooth versions of pop and country songs that have made Murray a superstar, with 15 million al-

bums. And now, the 46-year-old singer has revisited the pre-rock era with *Crooned!* (RCA), her most personal collection to date. "These songs are in my blood," says Murray. "I hardly need lyrics sheets—that's how well I know them."

Recorded in Toronto with the cream of the city's session players, the album has a soft sound. Murray's crisp yet warm vocals are perfectly suited to classics like "Old Cape Cod" and "Allegheny Moon," both made famous by Page, and such easy-listening standards as "My Three," recorded by Rosemary Clooney. In fact, the 16 tracks include only two false notes: the sassy "Fever" and the better shot of rejection "Oh Me a River." In both, Murray sounds out of her depth. She is more adept at the com-

paratively tame emotion expressed in "Secret Love," a signature tune for the wholesome Day.

Swapping to Mackenna's from a hotel room in Cincinnati, Ohio, midway through a U.S. tour, Murray recalled that recording "Crooned" with a "natural thing to do." She admitted that the hardest part came from worrying about what singers like Glenney and Day might think of her performance of songs associated with them. Said Murray: "It was tough because these people were such idols of mine." But her new album demonstrates that the little girl who sang along with the crooners has grown up to make those ladies her own.

B.J.

# Weird? Believe it!

Ripley's celebrates the warped and wonderful

Once upon a time in Japan there lived a sculptor known only as Matsukichi. One day, Matsukichi discovered he was dying of tuberculosis and turned his thoughts to what he might bequeath to the woman he loved. He decided to do a full-sized sculpture of himself—and the result, after months of labor, not only bore a striking resemblance to its creator, but the thousands of pieces of wood used so precisely fitted that the joints were undetectable. Finally, Matsukichi added some personal touches. He cut off his hair and stuck it on the statue's head. He pulled out his fingernails and applied them to the wooden fingers. He pulled out his teeth and embedded them in the wooden jaws. Then, two things went wrong: Matsukichi's girlfriend didn't want the statue—and he got better, spending the rest of his life eating soft foods and harboring a certain resentment.

Matsukichi's hairy hand-work stands in a Room at Park, Calif., museum—one of 21 owned or franchised by Ripley's Believe It or Not!, the world's most famous freak show and, believe it or not, the world's longest continuously running (75 years) syndicated newspaper cartoon, "Dixiey Doodle, a 1,380-lb. Maholin came in Kite Tossing, Out, can do down!" In the 1920s and 1930s, before TV strangled the physical world of its mystery, California's Robert LeRoy Ripley's aristocratic quest for the bizarre made him an international celebrity. He died in New York City in 1948, after suffering a heart attack while filming a TV series (130 episodes) on death rituals. Since 1965, the company has been owned by Vancouver businessman Jonny Perouse, and this year it is celebrating the 100th anniversary of Ripley's birth at a time when the world has found new ways to feed its fascination with the weird, warped and wonderful.

Ripley's is a stronger merchandise of its self. Its cartoons are still syndicated in 129 newspapers in 42 countries, and its cartoons are on display in museums from Seoul to Copenhagen—including one in Niagara Falls, Guy, and another in Cleveland, P.E.I. The challenge for Ripley's is how to persuade the public to new American shrines levels and two-headed calves when it is already overlooking so many sensational offerings from other media. These is the computer-generated science fiction of movies and TV. There are superstar athletes shouting "New York photo poses longest live on Main!" And there are syndicated adult shows that not only add little live and in color on a *Sally Jessy Raphael* program, a circus performer lifted bricks supported from chains attached to his nipples. Oprah and Gerardo and the rest also quench the public's thirst for another sort of exhibition—not physical, but emotional—singing a parade of incoherent loves, chicks, Popping Teens and porn stars.

Against such hard competition, Ripley's



fights on its own terms. "The business we're in is primarily tourist attractions," says Ripley's president Robert Masterson, 46, a Chicago-born Vietnam veteran. "We don't use that baby-in-the-bottle stuff because people are more sensitive now than they were in the 1930s. I don't think we use human deformities at all. We concentrate on things like the finger who went to prison and spent 28 years trying to cure the Lord's Prayer on the head of a pin, failed eight times and on the ninth time succeeded and then died. We do some things it was figures like the man Ripley met who had a horn in his head, but we don't do anything that says, 'Here's the human point with no arms and legs and cut into shoes with his teeth.'"

Perouse, whose 46 enterprises include everything from car leasing to electrical signs, will not set exactly how well Ripley's is doing, but he does note that the 21 museums are 14 more than the outfit had when he took over. The company, whose head office resided quietly in Toronto for the past 24 years, moved last month to Orlando, Fla.—closer to more Ripley's attractions. "The museums are the heart of the company," says Perouse, 64. But he bag the business because of fond childhood memories of Ripley's. "No, I just used to read the cartoons that, you know, everywhere you go you run into somebody saying, 'Believe it or not—it's become part of the language.'"

In the automobile search for the fascinating but unobscure, Ripley's gleefully keeps



ILLOCATIONIST IN ACTION: NO BRE 'BABY-IN-THE-BOTTLE STUFF'

HOLDING 25 QUARTERS COMPETITION FROM TV



FACELESS CONTORTIONIST: AN ENIGMA SEARCHING FOR THE FASCINATING BUT INOFFENSIVE



WORLD'S BIGGEST BROOM; CARROT NANO (BELOW); BELIEVE IT OR NOT HAS 'BECOME PART OF THE LANGUAGE'



PAINLESS WONDER ACT: NOSTALGIC ENTERTAINMENT

agents add as many as 1,200 more a year to a warehouse stockpile in St. Augustine, Fla. For John Turner, who lives in the village of Hadden on-the-Wall in northern England, keeping a full-time job. Ex-ford Martin, Cornforth and co-owner, Turner, 58, is Ripley's master of affairs. "This week I bought a Belgium robot from the 1960s," he said. "We suspect Ripley may have stolen it. I bought three hats that Napa Avenue warriors wear. They make these hats from coconut husks and human hair. I also bought a police tree root in the shape of a monster's head."

But collecting the Ripley's has a downside. "Once I stepped over to Jacksonville I never fulfilled dreams—elephants, caracal, griffins—made iron wire and chicken wire," Turner said. "Amazing they were. But the U.S. department of agriculture made us burn them because they contained seeds. This was very disappointing." Last year, Turner traveled 30,000 km in 18 days, and the hunt goes on. "People still like the nostalgic entertainment, they like the unbelievable things."

At the Ripley's Believe It or Not! museum in Niagara

Falls, 1,300 people pay \$7 (\$5-10 for kids) for a taste of that nostalgic entertainment on an average summer day. Most of the exhibits are glass-fronted, illuminated wall reconstructions—human hair jewelry, an 1850 tooth restorer, a self-heating robot. There is a display of worn Moccasins who originally wore a waxing glove and a razor blade to make clothes for furs—shirts, trousers, even hats. There is a videotape of Robert Wadlow, purported to have been the world's tallest man at right feet, 11 inches. "There's a guy hanging in there," says Elaine Abbott, a customer from Toronto, Ont., pointing over her shoulder. "When you look at our size, you are here and when you look at the other, all you see are his clothes."

Sally's sister sells Carrie Horner. "I have to cut 901 hairs off. Someone almost had a heart attack in the video games room and a pregnant woman left faint."

Video games room? Yes, as a note at the end of the weird wonder, Ripley's embraces the century. "Visual Fight," "Iron Warriors," "Robocopy" and "Terminator 2." Believe it.



RAE CORNELIA in Niagara Falls with SHIRLEY DOWDY (BRIDGES) on Toronto



RIPLEY WITH SHRUNKEN HEAD; JANI-BALANCING (TOP): GOO



# What I did on my summer vacation

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**A**s faithful readers know, they must suffer through the usual what-if-it-on-my-summer-vacation excursion. Meaning the details of the party boat trip on my Pacific island. It is a compulsory editorial, mandatory manuscript for those addicted to turning to the back page first.

Colman Hawkins is willing away through the speakers on *I Surrender Dear* Out beyond the deck, a musical burst with techno color rubs covers with the sunset.

Miss Peggy Lee is once again bewitched, as a tightest thug by. This is not, we must realize, CD Heaven. Not upon. This is the real stuff. Stage 20's authentic that the children laugh at. What do children know? They've never heard Earl (Barbar) Hines noodling his way through *Along with the Flow*.

On the mountain range opposite, in the *Shoreline de Galle*. This is a mountain peak that denotes, quite clearly, the magnificent and image of the laughing genius who inspired Churchill to compose, at war's height, that his greatest cross was the Cross of Lorraine.

Art Tatum and Ben Webster, doing *How For Me* *How Jones* provide background while a cassette boat named by some local hotelist sails plumes of spray skyward.

The deck on the cottage sits high on a cliff overlooking, desperate and catatonic, Japanese tourists, for too many to a boat, as along their lines and looking themselves in the car while peering to have a musical 40-second solo. George Shearing, with *Round of Plenty*, is the perfect background while they're wooed.

A misanthrope, in the only mansion observed in two weeks, houses of the mountains arrives during while *Caress* (as in *Jeopardy!* at the Woodlark) is a rather good match.

Children, whining about the mule they find, are placed innocently by giving them a quick fix of *Caraway* Jambalaya, with a small injection of *Ned Young on Harvest Moon*. Jeopardy is played with neither Jean Campbell nor Sam Charles on the tube to in-



trude on the salade, why could one complain?

From the deck, one contemplates the not devious, misanthropic at never ending leg boats, towed by tugboats that travel at the same three miles per hour. What, the prisoner on the deck on edifice powers, does a tugboat captain think about all day as he plots his boring way through the bay sea?

Existential thoughts of the meaning of life? Does he have the advantage of knowing to Pat Walker, vintage 1934, singing *Serenade for a Rainy Night*—“Kiss me, you're loaded with curiosity?”

Children, satisfied with the philosophical message, clear tugboat captain goes at unceasing of colonists sitting on decks with a small glass of gin and wonder. “What do colonists think about?” You can’t get my respect.

Noel Coward is seen on. His celebrated concert at Las Vegas. Singing his own version of Cole Porter’s *Let’s Go to the Sun*. “Eternal

longevity can just do it...“ Below the deck the sea is meek with yachts, cabot cruises, reckless speedboats. There is a recession in this country?

There is the world-famous birthday party. One week, a few daffodil cabinet ministers, the usual quota of diabolists, 65 suspects in all, plus Charlie Mingus and Quincy Jones. Mother, in small, looks on proudly, quite aware that she has produced all this bliss.

While the salmon is devoured, there is a respectable collaboration going on—Fletcher Messinger and Stephen Grapelli romancing over George Gershwin’s *Nico Neco* if You Can Get It. It is an appropriate intercontinental min. the concert ground and the European legend dreamt the backdrop for the finest view in the world on my Pacific island. Stars above above like ice cubes.

In the final moments, a lifeguard is law to be sequestered the Senkatchewen Dig with a future bride, a ballroom trick that Gene Kelly would envy. Duke Ellington is into *Crescent Lane* while in the sunset a bit white ferry, Mac a large water bag, also through the sea with the dignity of Queen Victoria, who would not be seated at the reference.

Young Disney is into *On the Sunny Side of the Street* as the wiles of boats beneath the cliff makes one wonder again where the recreation went to. Are those yachts sailing down *Blue Street*? Nope, they’re all here.

On the tennis court, the ladies who lunch will say “sorry” when they make a clever remark about it. It’s why women will never run the world. It’s misinstructed them years ago never to say “sorry” but they don’t listen. Darned had it right.

“Never complain, never explain.” Bobby Kennedy intoned it. “Just get even.”


Errol Garner is into *I’ll Remember April* as a boat approximately the size of P.E.H. women just with a grapple of stockholders. Children, whining again, are stifled with a short shot of Leonard Cohen. One of their complaints: “Who is Leonard Cohen?” Marianne Richlin, where are you when we don’t need you?

The sun, as the morning, betrays all the deck as Artie Shaw performs, along with Chuck Webb, and Charlie Barnet, apt through *Cherokee*. The net, in the afternoon, reflects all the mountain range opposite, re-creating the naked elements that detail the ranges of the rubber barrels who grew sick on the forests. Sam Kinison is playing *Archie in Rhythm*.


This is a lot better—and more useful—than covering politics.

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